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POST-WAR PROTESTANTISM IN GERMANY [1]

Professor HEINRICH HERMELINK
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THE first question our English and American friends usually put before us concerns the spiritual life in Germany after the war. And we often have the experience, that our answers to this question act as a disappointment. At once we have to state that the event of the war has nowhere brought us any new spiritual awakening or any revival in the literal meaning of the word. Of course this does not exclude the fact that some individuals have had their faith strengthened by the war, but on the other hand there are many who returned from it as decided atheists.

We ought rather to speak of a crisis in Protestantism, especially in post-war Germany, but also as far as I can see, in Protestantism altogether.

I detect the symptoms of this phenomenon in the following circumstances:

1. In our attitude toward Roman Catholicism, which undoubtedly has made great progress as well in public opinion as in political power, a feeling of uncertainty and loss has manifested itself on the Protestant side. We certainly all feel

[1] Address before The National Council of Free Churches, Nottingham, England, March, 1930.

that a petty and scornful attitude is no longer the right way to deal with the Roman Catholic Church. We have definitely done with the bad consequences of the Kulturkampf, which troubled the minds of the Protestant world for a long time after the fight had politically come to an end (1878).

But we have not yet gained a position from which to maintain our Protestant particularity, doing at the same time justice to the Roman Catholic side. We are still striving for a firm position which, without hurting in any way our neighbors' feelings in the Roman Catholic Church, yet emphasizes our evangelical conviction.

We realized very clearly this sensation of being badly treated on the Occasion of the Concordate, when the Prussian Government raised the greatest difficulties in dealing with the Protestant Church, whereas it had easily come to terms with the Roman Catholics, who evidently possessed greater political influence. This fully accounts for the great pessimism we often meet in Protestant circles, when the future of our church is being discussed. Just as in England, a good deal of Protestant religious life will depend upon how far we shall succeed in safeguarding our own particularities over against Catholicism.

2. Another symptom of the crisis consists in the decay of our State Churches. Remember that we have, as an inheritance of our former dynastic division, twenty-eight State Churches of the most varied sizes, in consequence of the denominational division of the Protestant Church in Germany. The dynastic contrarieties in the past history of our land were often contrasts too of religious confessions. The revolution and the new constitution have from an external point of view brought on the separation of State and Church. And the churches have given themselves constitutions of their own, as different as possible one from the other. This fact has helped us to realize more than ever the variety of our State Churches as an outcome of our dynastic and historical development. It is true that

there is a tendency to unity in work. Our churches have formed an alliance called *Deutsch-evangelischer Kirchenbund,* disposing of two further bodies, a permanent committee (*Deutsch-evangelischer Kirchenausschuss*) and an assembly, meeting every other year (*Deutsch-evangelischer Kirchentag*). But these neoformations have not yet acquired much strength as compared to the particularities and confessional traditions of former times. Altogether conservatism in Germany has in many cases taken refuge in the churches where it is to be feared that it will act antiprogressively. It will become necessary for the smaller churches to give up their independence in order to unite. And we see that a beginning in that direction is being made. And we see further that the church leaders are seeking the conjunction with the modern government in Germany to prevent the danger of a political isolation of the churches.

3. As well liberalism as pietism, these prominent manifestations of ecclesiastical life during the nineteenth century have fulfilled their destiny. They have accomplished a great task. Liberalism has applied the methods of historical investigation to all the documents of religion, especially those of the Old and the New Testament. And pietism has filled the whole spirit of the churches with deep Christian experience and works of charity. We can see its influence in the great accomplishments of missions at home and abroad, as well as in the Young Men and Young Women Christian Associations; and it has penetrated even into the confessional denominations and liberal organizations of the churches. At present, at least in Germany, it is necessary to offer a strong opposition to all liberal intellectualism on the one hand, and against the exaggerations of religious experience of pietism on the other. I do not believe that an awakening campaign on a big scale would have any success in present-day Germany.

Here I should like to put in a word about Karl Barth's theology. We ought to see in it less a well-developed theological system than a call to repentance and directed against the

tendency to identify the kingdom of God with human feeling or ecclesiastical associations. At the same time it represents the spirit of search in our theological youth for dogmatic truth, and the turning away from a merely relativistic and historical standpoint. This also accounts for the zeal with which our young people go in for the study of Luther and Calvin so strongly that it threatens to degenerate into a sort of mock renascence. In spite of this admonishment we all of us in Germany are convinced that this is the direction from which help can be expected. Ever since the thirty-first of October, 1917, the memorial day for Luther's fixing his theses at Wittenberg till the present year on the twenty-fifth of June, when we are going to celebrate the anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, there has hardly been a year without our having had to remember some glorious date of our reformed faith. Now we have come to an end of these festivals, as the Augsburg Confession represents the final consolidation of our Lutheran churches. I hope and trust that the remembrance of these historical events will have inspired all the different branches of our creed with new desires to solve our main problems, while we draw our strength from the living forces of the gospel. But before I further enter into this matter, I shall have to indicate two other most important symptoms of the crisis.

4. The fact that great masses of people belonging to labor have deserted the Church. To millions of my countrymen it seems that the Church is so indissolutely connected with conservatism and bourgeois feeling that they can no longer feel at home in it. Statistics do not look very serious, but figures do not mean everything in this case. In reality the position is very grave; our industrial working classes have left the Church. The great problem the church has to face nowadays is, how to win back the souls of these people. It is here that Dr. Siegmund Schultze, whose name is certainly also known in this country, has found the work of his life in transplanting the Settlement Movement from England to Berlin. But this

activity, spreading over several decades, has hardly been more than a drop in the sea. Though several other of our best men, for instance Professor Harnack, Professor Baumgarten, and Reichsgerichtspraesident Dr. W. Simons as presidents of the *Evangelisch-Soziales Kongress,* and Professor Reinhold Seeberg, as president of the more conservative *Kirchlich-soziale Vereinigung,* have made strenuous efforts in the same direction, the problem has become more and more difficult in the course of time. Pessimism has manifested itself everywhere in public life after the war and has naturally also gotten hold of the working classes. This is only natural, as the housing question, unemployment, the rise in prices, and, on the other hand, the love of luxury in clothing, food, and enjoyments has seized all classes. Theoretical materialism is declining, but practical materialism is certainly flourishing. There is undeniably a longing for religion in the midst of the working classes, manifesting itself in certain sets by a leaning toward apocalyptic sectarianism (for example the Russellites or the Adventists or Neo-apostolic congregations). Also the free churches of the Methodists and Baptists have gained more members and have united in some cases with the older churches in common missionary work. But it is of the greatest importance, to make the working classes themselves start a strong religious movement of their own. We can see that a beginning of this sort is made. On the Roman Catholic, as on the Protestant side, several religious reviews on a socialistic basis have recently begun to be published. Our new Kultusminister in Prussia, Herr Grimme, is connected with the religious wing of the Labor Party. He began his office by addressing himself to different theological university faculties in suggesting new professorships for the teaching of social ethics. And his ministership promises that the religious movement into the *Sozialdemokratische Partei* is increasing.

5. I am now coming to the last symptom of the religious crisis of Protestantism which has to do with the educated

classes. In Germany, as everywhere else, their religiousness consists of a curious blending of new currents and old Romanticism. It is a movement eagerly looking out for all sorts of theosophical occultism and æsthetic values. It is certainly very significant that in post-war Germany nineteen astrological associations and sixteen astrological papers have been started. Dr. Rudolf Steiner's theosophical work in Dornach (near Basel) has got a Christian branch in the *Christengemeinschaft,* organized through Doctor Rittelmeyer, who was a famous liberal Protestant preacher in Nürnberg and in Berlin. In spite of and yet in correspondence with all these eccentricities, we are glad to state that there exists a universal longing for a theistic conception of the world and a mental readiness to welcome the unknown God in our hearts. Unfortunately the idea of the Church is entirely wanting in these circles. Nevertheless this offers an excellent opportunity for the Protestant Church to make a new beginning according to its very soul. The modern German world—this meaning lives especially in the best leaders of the youth movement in Germany—after having realized the impotence of man over against the Almighty, is ripe for the evangelical message—by grace alone.

We can further say that secular circles are watching with the greatest sympathy how the Protestant Church tries to get from narrow boundaries out in universal associations. "The Stockholm Conference for Life and Work" has been strongly promoted by the official covenant of our German Protestant Churches, as also the German Association of the International League for Peace and Freedom has recently secured the leading clergyman of the Church of Prussia as president; whereas the official churches in Germany have kept back from the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order.

Above all this the conviction that we need a permanent Protestant union is constantly growing in strength. Last autumn, on the occasion of our celebrating the four-hundredth anniversary of the religious discussion at Marburg, we had an

assembly of many delegates from the Protestant Churches on the Continent and in America. We could distinctly state that the day had come to form a synthesis of all the various denominations and bodies of Protestantism, not a syncretistic union; each denomination has its own charisma. We clearly understood, that such a synthesis must come after a thorough investigation of the individual confessional standpoints. The institute for confessional research at Marburg, connected with the collection of cult objects, started by Prof. Rudolf Otto is going to help us in reaching this goal.

We protest against the Roman Catholic papal system and against the celebration of the Mass, as we consider them to be superstitionary aberrations from the gospel itself and from the spirit of the Reformers.

In principle we also are conscious of differing from our orthodox brothers, who entered into communication with us at Stockholm and Lausanne. We appreciate their brotherly love and friendship. But we cannot share their concept of the sanctity of tradition and of their sacramental liturgy. We equally rebel against every attempt to make the matter of episcopal succession a sacred matter; we protest against every form of worship, which emphasizes the power of the sacraments in the relation of God and man, instead of putting the stress upon the free gracious action of the word of God.

Protestantism means permanent protest against any canonistic, sacramental, and superstitious binding of God to any earthly sanctified things or persons. We ought to fight against such a mixing up of irreconcilable elements with all the strength of our conscience which we hold receives its orders directly from God. Our belief in the gospel gives us the hope of victory. The keener we realize, without any undue optimism, the danger and the crisis in Protestantism in our days—found in this sacramentalism, the product of human error and misunderstanding—the more certainly we may trust the word of grace and mercy.

In Germany we celebrate, as I already mentioned, this year the four-hundredth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession. The central article of this Confession is the fourth:

We teach that men are justified apart from their own merits and works, only through the grace of God; *gratis, propter Christum, per fidem. Gratis,* that is, freely through the free gift and approach of the Father in heaven, who seeks the sinner. *Propter Christum,* that is, for the sake of Christ, who reconciles us to God. The Saviour is the revealer of this wondrous gracious God, who hates sin but loves the sinner. *Per fidem,* that is, through faith. We appropriate the grace of God only through humble trust in the word of mercy and forgiveness. The believer like a good tree will bring forth good fruit, and in fellowship with Christ and his brothers he will find a new life.

This is the faith of all Protestants and excludes all sacramentalism and papal prerogatives. On this faith of gracious forgiveness and new life we commit ourselves to build a vital united Protestantism.

THE ETHICS OF PAUL[1]

HENRY J. CADBURY
Bryn Mawr College

It is strange that with so many books on Paul, few writers have attempted to do what Professor Enslin has so well done in his book on *The Ethics of Paul*. To be sure the ethics of Paul are not easily isolated. They are part of his whole concern. Nor are they easily systematized. We know them as they come to expression in the occasional writings of a busy and practical missionary. All this Mr. Enslin recognizes—even emphasizes —so that the reader is not deceived into thinking in categories or with one-sidedness that would be unfair to the many-sidedness and unanalytic character of the apostle's own mind.

The object of the study is to consider all those aspects of Paul's writings which may justly be called ethical, to examine into the possible sources or influences, and to inquire into the standards or criteria of moral judgment. This involves a thorough knowledge of the ethics of Judaism, of Stoic-Cynic philosophy, and of the lexical study of terms for virtues and vices in Paul's epistles. In all these matters Mr. Enslin shows adequate scholarship. He does not attempt to offer a modern evaluation of Paul's ethics, or to collect homiletic materials. He is content to remain with Paul and his own time. Even with this self-restriction his book reveals a skill in expression and a soundness of judgment that will recommend it to discriminating scholars and will induct the layman into some of the delicate issues, revised judgments, and interesting questions of New Testament study.

Few of the general questions about Paul and Paulinism do not touch the matter of his ethics, and this Mr. Enslin himself has seen. He therefore weaves them into his discussion of the

[1] Discussion of *The Ethics of Paul*, by Morton Scott Enslin, Th. D. (Harvard), New York: Harper and Brothers.

more obvious material. There is for example the question of influences on Paul. This of course is definitely faced in the section on "Forces that Contributed to the Moral Teachings of Paul" with its three chapters on "Paul's Heritage from Judaism," "The Contribution of the Stoa," and "The Oriental Cults and Ethics," and also in the chapters which, dealing with the standards or criteria of conduct, are devoted to "The Answer of Judaism" and "The Answer of Stoicism." The Mystery Religions as far as the evidence goes were negligible in ethical influence on Paul. It is doubtful indeed whether they had much ethical influence on their own adherents. They did not emphasize morality; at most we may suspect them of promoting immorality. Mr. Enslin follows Professor C. H. Moore in thinking these cults may have simply reenforced current ethical standards. The negative conclusion as to their influence on Paul should give pause to those who still think of these cults as a formative factor in Gentile Christianity. If, as Mr. Enslin believes, morality held a central place in Paul it is hard to see why such non-moral cults need be called into account even for other traits of his teaching. Novel fields of research too easily claim temporarily an importance which they do not deserve, and which in this case the total lack of representative literature does not allow one to disprove or to prove.

Neither Judaism nor Stoicism is without extensive literature, and the author's abundant use of illustrations from them is indicated by a glance at the foot-notes or at the comprehensive index. Naturally a New Testament scholar cannot be expected to have exhaustive first-hand knowledge of these contemporary fields of thought. Mr. Enslin has used secondary sources in part. Like many of the rest of us he is indebted for details as well as for his general attitude to Judaism to the work of Professor G. F. Moore. Commentators, from Wettstein down, also serve his purpose in supplying parallels. But parallels are not proofs of dependence, especially in the case of Stoicism. Indeed the relation of Paul to Stoicism seems

to be more conspicuous in the realm of style and of vocabulary. The former, however, belongs to a popular rhetoric, the latter was no doubt equally popular. Mr. Enslin's discussion of " duty " and of " conscience " shows how little the technicalities of Stoicism can be found in Paul. The contrasts which he brings out between Paul and Stoicism are among the most interesting parts of his book.

To Judaism on the other hand both the terms of Paul and his standards show complete resemblance. No doubt it was the main determinant in his moral ideas. Here the difficulty is his own emphatic renunciation of Judaism, and apparently we shall have to conclude that the contrast between Paul the Pharisee and Paul the Apostle is not in the content of ethics and perhaps not in the sphere of ethics at all, but if anywhere in the area of motive.

How far, we may ask, was the ethics of Paul affected by the teaching and example of Jesus? Whether Paul knew Christ after the flesh is a question of great general interest. Certainly his ethical teaching shows no unmistakable stamp of his Master's influence. With few exceptions Jesus' precept or example is unquoted in Paul's letters. Similarity in teaching is more likely attributable to similar conformity to current Jewish morality than to any influence directly or through the Christian tradition. How far primitive Christianity had an ethics that influenced Paul Doctor Enslin does not discuss. We know perhaps too little about it. Its general code was doubtless, like Paul's and Jesus' own, strongly Judaic in character. Nor does Doctor Enslin discuss as fully as we are led to expect Paul's own distinctive contribution. Possibly in spite of his originality Paul's own individualism shows less in the standard that he recommends than in the reasons why he recommends it.

Indeed it is in the motives that Paul provides the most interesting comparisons. Here we get that which is most Christian and most individual about him, though the relation of specific standards to the central Christian ideal is not always

clearly defined. Doctor Enslin does not overdefine it. The following facts seem, however, to emerge.

The ethics of Paul were social in motive. If the Stoic cultivated virtue for its own sake, or out of considerations of reason or duty, Paul's motive was largely for the welfare of others. It need not be pointed out that quite different motives may lie behind the same moral standards in different groups. Indeed the motives or sanctions of ethics, both actual and expressed, are among the most distinctive elements both of simple morality and of rationalized ethics. If Doctor Enslin is right in assigning Paul a social motive he has found a really striking difference not only from Stoicism but also from Judaism and from the recorded teaching of Jesus. In both the latter the expressed motive is quite different, and sheer altruism is not conspicuous. I am not sure that Doctor Enslin's emphasis on this point is not excessive. The motive of course is there, but he quotes repeatedly the phrase " the brother for whom Christ died," as though that brother's welfare was a constant motive. He also repeatedly appeals to Paul's use of *koinonia.*

It would be rash to deny, without further opportunity for study and exposition, Doctor Enslin's thesis that the solidarity of the brotherhood is expressed by this word and is an outstanding feature in Pauline ethics. Certainly all early Christians were drawn into fellowship both by their loyalty to a common Lord and by their sense of separateness from " those that are without." Mr. Enslin rightly selects as one inclusive heading of Paul's ethics the maxim, " Separate yourselves from all that would defile." Another is " Through love serve one another." Men may, however, be individually holy, without at all realizing the social implications. They may even lay stress as Paul does on love, harmony, gentleness, humility, kindness, and other fruits of the Spirit. In his own example of a life lived for others and in his great effort for the financial relief of the saints in Jerusalem, Paul's altruism is evident. The reader should, however, ponder these claims made for Paul:

We might almost say this sense of *koinonia* produced his ethics, or at least gave to it its distinctive motive (p. 78).

One of the greatest contributions that Paul made was that of giving to Christianity a lasting solidarity by his emphasis on the social ties linking saint to saint. . . It would be impossible to understand Paul's moral teaching without seeing its essentially social nature.

The fellowship of Christians was also with Christ, and somehow one feels that Paul's ethics gains its main motive from the divine rather than from the human aspects of the fellowship. Just how that motive worked it is most difficult to say. To call it mystical does not go far toward clarifying it. That the historical Christ played little part in Paul's ethics we have already said, but being " in Christ," " walking worthily of Christ " is much more significant for Paul's ethics. The imitation of Christ strangely enough is rarely mentioned. The same is true of the imitation of God. Perhaps it lay outside of the scope of Doctor Enslin's book to show fully how far the thoughts of divine deliverance here and hereafter, actual and forensic, can be related to Paul's ethical ideas. That there is a connection he makes plain. Here again we are brought face to face with one of the puzzles of Paulinism. Sometimes morality seems to be the outcome of religion—the fruits of the spirit—spontaneous—unspecified—quite in contrast with the Mosaic method of specific precept. But Paul does not hesitate to give specific advice and to buttress it with a great variety in the kinds of motives. If this is not logically consistent, it at least is not unusual in ethical teaching. The book will make the thoughtful reader query for himself—especially in a day when Christianity's most enduring claim seems to be its potential service to morality—just why and how religion and ethics are connected. Certainly for Paul the Christian as such could be none too insistent on the virtues of life. He associated his morality with his religion. Yet one suspects that the content, distinguished again from the motive, owed very little to his Christian experience. Missionary life in the Gentile world may have occasioned his

emphasis on sex morality. The experiences of his churches determined no doubt much that he said on this and on other subjects. To the expectation of the Lord's return Doctor Enslin assigns, I think quite rightly, but little moral influence. It gave urgency to the ethical demands but it did not affect their character. The same is true of the hope of final redemption which the Christian anticipated. But why right seemed to Paul right—and that is the deepest question—probably Paul himself scarcely knew. His arguments—often quite fantastic and a chaos of independent approaches, based on his own peculiar psychology—are much less appealing to us than his standards. Behind him, as behind the whole Christian movement, lay a well-established Jewish ethics. Even the pagan world had its standards, which violations of practise do not obscure. All these entered unconsciously into Paul's own inner convictions and were given a Christian label or association. And it is there rather than in more conscious areas that his ethical assurances took their rise. Doctor Enslin writes (p. 130):

> Many guides and criteria for conduct there were—specific ills must be checked by specific precepts and admonitions—but all resulted from the attempt to answer the fundamental question, What sort of conduct is worthy of a man in Christ? Nor can it be denied that underlying even this standard was another. How could Paul be sure of what was worthy of Christ? For Paul as for every other moral teacher who has made any real impress, the final authority was the light within. The standards he set were his own standards of conduct. We can see how he had come to possess them, but as he wrote he was unconcerned with their genesis. The sort of conduct in which the Corinthians were indulging and which in Paul's eyes disgraced Christ and debauched him whose body the Christians were was the conduct that Paul himself loathed. Can there be a more ultimate authority?

EMPIRICAL THEISM

ROBERT F. DAVIDSON
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THE theistic problem is assuming an importance in American theological thought that marks it as the most significant contemporary religious issue. Further, it is no longer possible to discuss the question of the existence of God or the nature of God without first inquiring what constitutes religion and religious experience. This fact has become apparent in modern treatments of the question of theism versus theological humanism, in which the traditional approach, through the use of deductive arguments, has been forced to one side as inadequate. There may be value in cosmological, teleological, ontological, and moral arguments for the existence of God, but the study of the history and the psychology of religion has made it clear that an empirical consideration of religion itself must precede any treatment of the object of religious devotion.

THE NATURE OF RELIGION

For many this preliminary consideration of the genesis and nature of religion has resulted in the abandonment of the theistic position, certainly in everything but name. God becomes no more than the God-idea or at most a symbol for some aspect of the natural order 'idealized and personified.' This suggests a rather significant fact—namely, that the theistic position can be acceptable only when based upon an adequate conception of the nature of religion itself. Once an inadequate or erroneous view of religion has been accepted, it becomes impossible to arrive at a valid theism.

This is illustrated in the trend of theological humanism today, where religion has been taken to be essentially devotion to the highest social values, and nothing more. There is no question of the relation that has existed from primitive times

between religion and social morality, nor of the place that devotion to the highest moral and spiritual ideals should hold in the religious life. It may even be true that in specifying the most essential element in religion one would designate devotion to such ideals. Nevertheless it is a mistake to identify religion either with social morality or with devotion to high ideals, for religion throughout its history and in all its forms has meant more than this.

At its best it has included social idealism, but at the heart of the religious life there has always been some sort of relationship between the worshiper and what he believed to be an objective divine Reality. It may be possible to show that the religious man has been mistaken in this belief, that the religious object as pictured is unreal or a reality which cannot properly be termed divine. But in any case it is inadequate and unsatisfactory both historically and psychologically to define the term religion in such a way as to exclude this felt relationship.

There is another modern approach to the problem of the nature of religion which is significant and prevalent enough to demand attention. It, like the position of the humanists, contains a desirable protest against the inadequate though once in Protestant circles rather generally accepted idea that religion consists in intellectual assent to some set of theological propositions certified by an external authority. This second group of religious thinkers likewise recognize the place of ideal values in religion, but they also include in it the fundamental faith of the religious man that these values are grounded in reality. For them indeed religion is faith that these ideal values do express the nature of the ultimately real.

Professor Höffding makes this fundamental in his treatment of religion, holding for example in his *Philosophy of Religion* that " the core of religion . . . consists in the conviction that no value perishes out of the world." Canon Streeter in his recent book, *Reality,* insists that religion like art is concerned with the qualitative side of reality, not the quantitative—and

the quality of reality is known through religious evaluation and becomes the ground of religious faith. Perhaps the most thorough and suggestive effort to defend this position consistently is that being made by Prof. John Baillie. In his *Interpretation of Religion* he contends that " religion is a projection of our moral values into the real order of things," " a moral trust in reality."

But here, as when the place of devotion to social ideals is stressed, an important part of the religious life is being given prominence to the complete exclusion of another aspect. And, for the effort to establish a valid theistic position, the most important element has been the one excluded—namely, the essential nature of religious experience as a felt relationship with a divine Reality. As long as this aspect of religion is omitted no treatment of its nature can be adequate or ultimately satisfactory as the basis of a vital theism.

The third approach to the problem of the nature of religion which must be noted is that which stresses the element in religious experience overlooked in the two previous positions. Schleiermacher, a century ago, in making an effort to distinguish religion both from morality and from theological speculation and to find its real place in human nature contended that religious experience had its basis in the feeling of absolute dependence, which he held was the very presupposition of our self-conscious being and activity. What he was concerned to point out was the fact that the experience of dependence upon a sustaining Reality is fundamental in religion. Schleiermacher's use of the term feeling was unfortunate, and his limitation of religious experience to a relationship of absolute dependence unsatisfactory, but his empirical approach to the study of religion marked a new era in religious thinking.

Further empirical investigation indicates that religious experience centers in a relationship to Reality in which dependence is felt, but in a relationship through which more especially there is promoted the realization and conservation of

those highest values, moral and spiritual, which inevitably command our devotion and allegiance. Professor Wieman has been advocating this conception of religion in a most suggestive way. In his *Wrestle of Religion with Truth* he says that genuine religion is man's " endeavor to find that adjustment to the most protecting and uplifting Behavior of the universe in order that he may be saved from the worst possibilities and may actualize the best." Prof. D. C. Macintosh thinks of the nature of religion in a similar though more positively theistic fashion. Devotion to and dependence upon a responsive higher power, believed in and regarded as ideal, he holds to be the essence of religion in his *Theology as an Empirical Science.*

This brief treatment serves to indicate that a satisfactory conception of religion should include all three elements so far discussed. Religion is essentially devotion to the highest moral and spiritual ideals, and faith that these ideals express the nature of ultimate Reality. But it is a devotion and a faith engendered and promoted by a relationship of dependence upon and fellowship with that ultimate Reality. It is necessary to insist upon such an adequate conception of the nature of religion if the question of the existence of God, the second significant theistic problem, is to receive satisfactory treatment.

The Existence of God

By using the word God to designate whatever is ultimate in his theory every philosopher and theologian may very easily boast a belief in and perhaps a knowledge of God. But such a God, especially as when in the majority of these cases this is nothing more than the physical universe or some aspect of the universe spelled with a capital letter, is not the God required for vital religion. Hence the problem of the existence of God must be taken to mean *the existence of a God adequate as the object of religious devotion and experience.* Otherwise establishing the existence of God would contribute little support to religious theism.

As already suggested it has been a common fault to treat religion in such a way as to dispose of the reality of God entirely, or at least of the possibility of any proof of his existence and valid knowledge of his nature. This is true in the case of the strict Humanist who takes religion to be merely emotional devotion to social values. God may still be termed the symbol of our highest values by the Humanist, but he has no real existence of the kind possessed by man. At best man has become the creator and God the result of his creative activity. But the position of the Humanist is not logically tenable. He should naturally be led through his devotion to social values to a faith in some cosmic factor which produced and will conserve these values. For his cosmic naturalism ill accords with his social idealism.

Yet even were this the case, the Humanist could have no adequate knowledge of God's existence upon his premise of religion as emotional devotion to social values. At best he could only have faith that the ultimate nature of moral values, personal and social, justified his belief in a God who, powerful enough to bring these values into being, was also powerful and good enough to conserve them. Just such a faith indeed is the result of the second view of the nature of religion previously referred to. It is theistic, but it builds its position solely upon this faith in the ultimate identity of reality and value.

The strength as well as the weakness of such a theism is well illustrated in the work of Professor Baillie. Religion for him has its roots in the human soul in just the same fundamental way that morality does. Our consciousness of value, immediate and intuitive, is something that we cannot get beyond or behind; and this immediate consciousness of value is taken in his book, *The Interpretation of Religion,* as the real meaning of the moral consciousness. Theism is seen as inevitably following upon moral obligation, so Professor Baillie says, "Faith in God is thus in some sort an outgrowth of our consciousness of value."

Such faith in God is grounded in the fact that the moral consciousness not only reveals to us duty but also it reveals our station in the universe. The very command of conscience carries with it the conviction that man is dependent upon a larger Reality which, in demanding morality of him, reveals itself as moral in nature. If such Reality be moral, it must be spiritual and in the best sense a personal Being, Professor Baillie argues. A moral nature logically implies this in its possessor. " It is just because we see duty to be an end-in-itself and our values to be of an intrinsic and absolute kind that we feel bound to attribute to them a cosmic significance."

In this fashion Professor Baillie has carried to its logical conclusion the Humanist's acceptance of moral values as ultimate, and it leads him to faith in a personal God. There seems no reason to disagree with what he has done. Belief in God is the natural faith of a moral man. But when Professor Baillie's idea of religion leads him to deny the possibility of any knowledge of God's existence or nature more verifiable than this moral faith, it becomes necessary to raise a question concerning the adequacy of his conception of the nature of religion.

" To the very end," he says, " the facts of life remain capable, from a strictly theoretical point of view, of two opposite interpretations." The reason for his making such a statement is to be found in the fact that his approach to the theistic problem is empirical in only a very limited sense. His failure to see in religion an experienced relationship with Reality through which our highest values are promoted leads him to conclude that theism must ever be faith and never knowledge. But such a theism cannot meet the demands of the present religious situation.

A theism that is adequate today must be grounded and verifiable in experience, and valid knowledge of the existence of God can only be drawn from religious experience, not from moral idealism. The natural sciences use the term knowledge to apply to critically verified and verifiable reports of experi-

ence. But religion since the time of Kant has too often allowed to science the only claim to knowledge, being content with Professor Baillie to rest its case upon faith. No matter how much Professor Baillie or Kant himself might be disposed to disagree, there is always the implication in such a statement that the knowledge of science rests on surer foundation than does the faith of religion. This is most undesirable, especially since it is unnecessary. An analysis of religious experience, theoretical and practical, shows that it affords knowledge of God quite as adequate as the knowledge of the ordinary world of things and persons to be had in sense experience.

In order to justify this position satisfactorily a treatment of epistemology, both general and religious, would be necessary and that is impossible within the limits of this paper. It is important, however, to point out in a general way the grounds for the claim that the reality of God is empirically perceived and verified in religious experience, as validly indeed as are the objects of the physical world, the self, or other selves in ordinary experience. The question of perception may be briefly dealt with and then that of verification.

One often takes for granted that his perception of the external physical world is entirely veridical—that is, it corresponds with an external reality. But a little reflection in the light of modern scientific thought is enough to demonstrate the falsity of this belief. Early in the history of modern philosophy Berkeley and Hume made it clear that a pure empiricism was insufficient as a basis for valid knowledge but logically led to scepticism, and Kant then pointed to the necessity of recognizing some antecedent mental activity in all perception. This fact has never since been seriously challenged, the behaviorism of today to the contrary notwithstanding.

Berkeley and Hume showed rather conclusively that the existence of external objects, of the self, of other selves as well as the existence of God was not externally certified. Yet no one has been content to give up the reality of all these, and

various efforts have been made to establish valid knowledge of external reality as well as of the self in experience. Bergson, for example, has suggested an intuitive perception of the reality of things not to be reached by scientific analysis. Prof. D. C. Macintosh holds that perception through a complex of sense data, what might be termed an empirical intuition, reveals the real thing experienced. Prof. A. N. Whitehead makes a great deal of the perception of causal efficacy in a given experiential relationship which points to external reality.

In all of these recent efforts to establish the validity of our knowledge it is clear that perception of the existence of God is at least theoretically as well grounded in the type of religious experience here defended as is that of the self, other selves, or external physical objects in ordinary experience. In both cases internal factors combine with external to give a perception of an independent reality, but this is no more easily to be discredited as illusory, merely subjective, in the one case than in the other. Many who would perhaps be forced to admit that this was the case in theory would still be disposed to contend that the real test lay in verification not theory. The practical verification of the reality of external objects, of the self, and other selves is easily possible, they might hold, while such verification of the existence of God is on the contrary quite impossible.

Clearly verification as here interpreted depends upon what a thing does. We kick a stone, the stone stubs our toe, and we are satisfied that it exists. In like manner we satisfy ourselves of our own reality and that of others. Is it then impossible to verify the existence of God in this pragmatic way, to find what may be termed a divine response in religious experience? Certainly it is necessary to begin with a conception of God drawn from our experience which is capable of such verification, and not one which is so broad and inclusive as to be pragmatically unmanageable. Here Professor Wieman has been doing valuable service through his insistence upon the

place of scientific method in religion. Holding God to be that ultimate factor in reality upon which man's highest good is dependent, he maintains that man can verify the existence of God empirically. "To attain the supreme good we must get into right relations with the ultimate cause." In religious experience we make the required experimental readjustments and upon determining the right relations to God are able to realize the supreme good. Prof. D. C. Macintosh has stated a similar position in his *Theology as an Empirical Science*. When a dependable factor in the universe responds to the right religious adjustment by promoting our realization of the highest moral and spiritual values, he holds that we have empirical verification of the existence of a God good enough and great enough for our imperative religious needs.

In this way religious experience has given pragmatic verification to the existence of God as a cosmic reality, the cause of man's highest good, and it is possible for any one by making the required religious readjustment to verify this for himself. In the history of religions the experimental conduct of the religious life through which the existence of God might be verified has not always been attempted, and seldom accomplished in its most significant form. But especially in the case of the great religious leaders of the past demonstrations which are conclusive have been made. And the scientific validity of this experimental verification of God's reality lies in the fact that it is a possibility for every one.

The Nature of God

An adequate theistic position must include more than the empirical proof of the existence of God, even of a God adequate for the essential needs of the religious life. A treatment of the nature of God in so far as this is known in experience, and also in so far as it is based upon a reasonable faith concerning the character of the cosmic Reality so revealed, forms an essential part of an empirical theism. It will not be possible to treat this

aspect of the question in any detail here, but it is important that the place of faith as well as knowledge in the religious life receive due emphasis. The inadequacy of one-sided conceptions of religion has already been pointed out, and those which exclude the place of rational faith based upon our consciousness of values are as unsatisfactory as those which include only such faith.

If the correct religious readjustment to that cosmic Reality upon which man is ultimately dependent promotes moral and spiritual values as we know them, it affords an insight into the nature of this Reality drawn from such consciousness of values. It not only justifies our trust in the moral nature of Reality but gives empirical evidence of a God sufficiently good and sufficiently powerful to merit such a trust. We have valid knowledge of a divine Reality moral in nature and cosmic in influence which can satisfactorily be accepted as the God of a theistic religion.

Once this position has been established it is possible to find further evidence concerning the nature of God in traditional arguments like the cosmological, teleological, and moral, which must be accepted as rationally necessary faith. The constitution of reality so that it is intelligible and capable of being known by reason, a fundamental postulate of science, helps us understand its nature. "A vast cosmic drift" toward the realization of higher values is a fact to be reckoned with. The evolutionary development culminating in human nature, with its moral personality, inevitably suggests a will and purpose at work in the universe at least as personal as the best that we know. Those spiritual ideals and moral values which alone seem ultimate to finite personality must necessarily be no less significant to the cosmic Reality which has produced and conserves them.

If then at the heart of Reality there is intelligence, moral purpose, and spiritual value, it seems unsatisfactory to designate such Reality as a principle or process. Both of these are

sub-human, sub-personal terms, suggesting an abstraction rather than a concrete reality. Realizing the inadequacy and the symbolic nature of any term used to describe the divine Reality, one must also realize that personality is the least inadequate and the most comprehensive term that we have. Hence to speak of God as personal is not anthropomorphic in any more undesirable sense than any concept we could use would be, all being necessarily drawn from the human frame of reference. Finally, the fact that our knowledge of God is not exhaustive does not imply that it is not dependable as far as it does go. Even the religious faith which is rationally justified and necessary in the light of experience in general must be seen as no less valid than the faith expressed in the hypotheses of the sciences, each being open to progressive empirical verification when made the basis of action.

THE RELIGIOUS ROMANCE OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

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It is necessary to know something about the past of Czechoslovakia if one desires to understand the present religious situation there.

When in the fourth century the nations were seeking their new homes, and the Slavs, who had their cradle in the South of Russia, parted in different groups, the Czechoslovak, although he was the least with regard to the number of his subjects, had the greatest energy and went the westernmost of all his Slav brethren. There were just a few Slavs more who went still further west, but they soon drowned in the German sea. The Czechoslovak remained in the west, and his land looks as a finger of the great Slav hand in the East, showing to other Slavs the Western culture, of which he became the interpreter. His situation being the very center of Europe, and having high mountains as his natural frontier, the Czechoslovak was able, during the many hundreds of years of Germanizing efforts of his neighbors, to remain a Czechish peninsula into the German sea, his only connection with his Slav brethren being the Poles and a short frontier with the Russians.

The Czechoslovaks soon accepted Christianity when it was preached to them by the two Greek brethren, Cyrill and Methodius. The fact that Christianity was introduced to them by Greeks produced the second fact: the Czechoslovaks were never true followers of Rome.

The Reformation ideas found a good home in Bohemia and in the rest of the Czechoslovak countries. The greatest man that the Czechoslovak nation produced, John Hus, was not the first reformer, and by no means the only one; he had many forerunners. His very clever colleague, Jerome of Prague, and his

spiritual successor, Peter Chelčický, are men of world importance. The last one, a man who was born too soon, an apostle of the world's peace and separation of State and Church, the spiritual father of the " Unitas Fratrum," and the introducer of believer's baptism in the Bohemian Brethren Church, an unknown Baptist saint of the fifteenth century, is the man of whom Tolstoy professed himself an admirer and disciple. It was Tolstoy and Professor Jastrebov of Petrograd University who " discovered " Chelčický in our times. And the Bohemian Brethren Church of old is generally recognized today as " the most beautiful blossom on the tree of Christianity since the time of the apostles." Comenius, the greatest and last religious leader of the " Unitas Fratrum," the teacher of nations, who was called to Harvard as a professor, is a man who is not valued enough; and we are only at the beginning of trying to understand what he meant, not only for the Czechoslovaks but for the culture of the whole world. It is of importance to notice for example what a scientific research work is being done by the German *Comenius-Gesellschaft.* The Moravian Church of today, it should be noted, has its origin in the work of Chelčický and Comenius.

Czechoslovaks are the only Slav nation who had a full Reformation which succeeded for two hundred years. It was an eminently religious country, " The Land of Book and Cup." It is an European proverb which has its origin in the Husitic time, " The Husitic woman knows the Bible better than the priest." The Czechoslovaks printed the first Bible in a living tongue; New Testament in 1475, full Bible in 1488 in Prague. So attached were they to the Scriptures that for a man who daily reads and meditates in the Bible they coined a single word, *Písmák.* This expression is a Czechoslovak idiom, which cannot be translated into any language in the world. Nowhere in the world is the Lord's Supper held so high as in the country of the Czechoslovaks, because they suffered so much for the " Cup." The independent Protestant Czechoslovak State was

really a paradise with the king-democrat George of Poděbrad, who was just a Czechoslovak citizen, chosen a king because of his spiritual nobility. This movement was very soon transplanted into Slovakia so that half of the population became Protestant and they used the Czech Bible and hymnals from that time until today.

There is another fact which not only shows the missionary spirit of the Czechoslovaks in the dawn of the Reformation, but which is of spiritual interest to all Anglo-Saxons. When Scotland was still Roman Catholic but had already some friends of Reformation ideals, they sent to Prague a message in which they asked for some good representation of the Reformation ideas in the cradle of Reformation. The Czechs sent their best people, a whole expedition, the leader of which, Pavel Kravař, was professor in the Prague University. In his adopted country he became known as Paul Crawer, or Craw; he preached the gospel in Scotland for three years, and was burned as a heretic at St. Andrews in 1431.

Peter Paine, an English Reformer, who was banned from his native country because of his "heretic" beliefs, found a refuge, as many others, in the free country of Bohemia, and died there in peace, known as "Brother English." The center and spiritual stronghold of the Reformation ideas was the Czech University of Prague, the oldest one in the central Europe. (Founded 1348.)

When America was discovered, and at the same time when in many inhuman souls was discovered a selfish thirst after wealth, and many people left their own country to seek gold—at that time the Czechoslovaks discovered in their hearts a healthy thirst after pure religion. Therefore they sent abroad a whole expedition to travel round and to find out the best Christians in the world and to bring home their valuable gold of experience.

Meanwhile the religious divisions were serious, and when civil war broke out in 1618, the Austrians invaded with a great

army. The tragic battle on the White Mountain, near Prague, meant the beginning of the end of the independent Protestant Czechoslovak State. The Emperor Ferdinand of Austria proclaimed he would rather see Czechoslovakia a desert than a Protestant country. In the history of the world, there are few pages so dark as the pages of the persecution of Protestants in Bohemia by German Catholic Austria. After the terrible battle, the Jesuits with soldiers entered the land and tried to "convert" the people to Roman Catholicism. They did it with sword and fire. First of all they beheaded twenty-seven Czechish religious leaders in the chief square in Prague before the eyes of the nation. Then they passed a law that everybody who would not be Roman Catholic must leave the country, but without any property, or die. Many died, many left the country; and so, although Bohemia had, before the thirty years' war, over three millions of inhabitants, after the war there were only eight hundred thousand people. The property of the Protestant Czechs (which amounted at that time to five hundred million golden crowns—according to the historian Bílek) was confiscated and given to the Roman Catholic Church, Roman Catholic nobility, and the Emperor. Three hundred years of terrible persecution followed, the history of which a Czech can read only with a bleeding heart. The Roman Catholic German Austrian tried and partly succeeded in making a Czechish Protestant country a Roman Catholic German country.

In order that the nation might forget their national hero, their big John (Hus), the Jesuits brought out another John (Nepomuk), a man who never existed, as the historians of today have found out, and this Roman Catholic "saint" John Nepomuk was given to the nation as their patron saint in 1729, so that the real big saint and martyr John Hus might be forgotten.

After the glorious first part of the Czechoslovak history a dark intermezzo followed. But the enemy could not destroy

all, although he could destroy something. In the forests and mountains remained always the true *písmáks,* readers of the Bible, although the Bible was proclaimed a poisoned book. From the pulpits the Jesuits advised people not to touch a Bible; it happened many times that the church janitors, who were true servants of the priests, brought Bibles which they had taken away from their owners by force. In order not to touch the poisoned books they carried them bound in chains, and their lords, the priests, burned them solemnly in the churchyards. One Jesuit leader proclaimed openly that he (Koniáš) himself had burned sixty thousand Bohemian Bibles and religious books. In order to find the hidden Bibles the Jesuits used to go round having shoes with nails; and they went to the fields where the people were working barefoot, and trampling on their feet, they asked them where they had their Bibles. But the spiritual hunger deserved to be satisfied. Therefore it often happened that there came people with a big loaf of bread from one village where there was no Bible, to a village where they knew there still was a Bible, and asked to be allowed to read and learn parts by heart, in order to be able to share its contents with their neighbors when they returned.

These very dark three hundred years passed away, in which the Protestant Czechoslovak nation had to fight with two enemies: with Vienna and with Rome, who together tried to Germanize and to Romanize the nation. It was no real life, it was a mere poor existence, which the Czechoslovak nation had as its share. Therefore it became a psychological necessity that every Czechoslovak was born already with a hatred against this dualism, and when he started to read his history the hatred was doubled.

The third period of the Czechoslovak nation starts at the moment when the great World War broke out. It was only natural that every Czechoslovak was meditating as follows: Our oppressor, from whom we expect nothing, as the last three hundred years have taught us, is in fight with the Entente. The

Czechoslovaks at once resolved to be on the side of the Entente, as they saw in her the liberator. The resolution was natural, but how were they to realize it when officially they were Austrian subjects? Many came with the problem to the leader of the nation, to Prof. T. G. Masaryk, and proposed a revolution. But his plan was better. He wisely foresaw that a revolution at that time would mean a suicide for the nation, and that it would not help anybody. Therefore he recommended another plan: The leaders ought to divide their task—part of them ought to go abroad to inform the Entente and to organize the revolution outside of the native country, and part of the leaders ought to stay at home to lead the nation.

Whole regiments were organized in Russia, France, Italy, and America. Thus it happened that the Czechoslovaks had a considerable army in Russia, France, and Italy. For this deed the Entente recognized the right for independence of the Czechoslovaks. But, of course, this deed, and the passive resistence at home, was not appreciated by Austria. And Austria punished the Czechoslovaks for their thirst after freedom in a most terrible way.

The children suffered especially. "Who saw the sufferings of men, did not see anything, he must see the sufferings of the women; who saw the sufferings of women, did not see anything, he must see the sufferings of children," says one poet. The children were found on the streets seeking remainders of food in ashes. Many of them knocked on their knees at the door for a piece of bread. Many mothers were obliged to hide the bread from their children that they might keep the bread for a longer period. Children were sleeping in the schools during the instruction because they were weak, and when they awoke they started to weep because of hunger. And when the war was nearly at an end, the Austrian minister for Foreign Affairs, Czernin, dared to say to the Czechoslovak leaders, "When we shall be bound to leave your country we shall leave a cemetry." And they tried to do it. A terrible message was sent

to America by an American medical expedition just after the armistice: eighty-two per cent. of the Czechoslovak children had consumption, and two children out of three who were born in the last year of the war died because of the weakness of their mothers. But in spite of this persecution the nation kept the motto of John Hus: "Woe to those who, for a piece of bread, sell the truth!"

When the war was near to an end, the Czechoslovaks had no patience to wait any longer for the armistice, or even the peace. When they saw that their oppressor grew weaker and weaker, and their friends on the Entente side stronger and stronger, then they thought that the psychological moment had arrived for their liberation. It was the twenty-eighth of October, 1918, the greatest day in their history. The capital city, Prague, was aroused to enthusiasm which scarcely can be described. Crowds crying, "Liberty, hurrah for the Entente!" were marching through the ancient streets. The nation, which to that time only dreamed about liberty, was making poems and songs on liberty—had to see their dreams fulfilled. People were kissing and embracing each other because of joy. The Czechoslovaks are proud that their greatest day in history was not spoiled by a single drop of blood, even blood of the "enemy." The Germans feared the day of liberation of the Czechoslovaks would be a day of vengeance—therefore they closed the doors and windows of their houses and in fear they expected what would come. But the new government sent their messengers at once to the Germans to open their houses, with the message that they ought not to be afraid as the nation did not intend to persecute anybody in the new state, not even the enemy.

When Czechoslovakia was liberated from national oppression, it seemed only natural that the national liberation should be crowned by a religious liberation. The Czechoslovak Government prescribed for the first time in the new state a census. Everybody had to say to what nationality he belonged, and what kind of religion he professed.

In the old Austria it was not easy to leave the church, but the conditions changed in the liberated state. There is complete religious liberty now. And there starts the new movement. Many Czechoslovaks, even nominal Roman Catholics, were ashamed to put down that they belonged to the church which "burned the greatest Czechoslovak that ever lived," John Hus, the church which "robbed our greatest men of their property," and either killed them or sent them abroad as beggars, and which, with this dishonest property, made the cruel propaganda of their faith in Czechoslovakia.

"We do not wish to be any longer in a society of executioners and robbers," was the resolution of many. "Our leaving is a protest against keeping our name in the statistics of that church to which we never belonged. We cannot read the history of our nation and not feel ashamed that we still belong to those people who destroyed the whole life of our nation."

How many people left the Roman Catholic Church during this movement? The process is not at an end. It is continuing, therefore it is not possible to give the final number. According to the last census the capital city of Prague has only fifty-three per cent. Catholics. The Roman Catholic Church admits that "no more" than one-third of the population left the church, and that the worst part of the membership left the church; that she has cleansed herself now. . . The movement started formally, it is true. But there are signs already of pure religious movement. Some of these people remained "without confession," but not all. Great numbers are joining the new Czechoslovak Church. This church broke all ties with Rome, recognizes the great men of our Reformation as their spiritual leaders, uses the Czechoslovak language in the church, has pictures of John Hus on the altars, sings old Husitic hymns, the priests marry, and the church is growing in numbers as well as in inward evolution daily. They are eagerly learning from the Protestant churches new methods, such as the Sunday School and Young People's Societies.

Many join the different Protestant churches. There are Protestant churches which have accepted in a few weeks more members than their own church had formerly, not hundreds only, but thousands. In the west of Bohemia, in a country town, where there was a Presbyterian church before this movement with some one thousand members, today the same church has twenty thousand members. In the same district is a country town with a big Roman Catholic Church; all the population left the Romish church and joined the Protestant church; in the Romish church there remained only three members—the priest, his housekeeper, and the janitor of the church.

In the Protestant churches are many people who appeal for deepening of the spiritual life. Denominational polemics cease, dogmatic battles are at an end; but many feel that real piety ought to follow the movement. The Protestant churches resolved to send their pastors from the lukewarm churches to those religious regions where there is the greatest work and the deepest movement, in order that they may be influenced by that movement and " bring it home."

There is no doubt this movement involves a great responsibility for all the Protestant churches. They feel it, and they have conferences in which they discuss what to do with the new members. It is true they cannot in one night become full-blooded Protestants, but it is touching to see how eager they are to learn and to know what they ought to do to be real " Bohemian Brethren."

And again, it has a great effect on the old Protestant churches. Many a lukewarm church became a living force because of the new opportunity. The greatest movement is in the southwest of Bohemia, just where there was the greatest stronghold of the Romish church; but it is a holy ground—it is the birthplace of John Hus, John Žižka, and Peter Chelčický, and of all the Czechoslovak Reformers.

It is just as in the Reformation time; people in the street, in the railroad cars, in the public places, speak about religious

topics. No other topic is so popular in Czechoslovakia today. "Have you yet left the Roman Catholic Church?" "Which church did you join?" "What is your idea about the Lord's Supper?" "What do you believe about God?" These are the questions which may be mostly heard in Czechoslovakia today.

It is very interesting to know what part America played in the development of Czechoslovakia. There are several more external ties between America and Czechoslovakia: the proclamation of independence of Czechoslovakia was signed in the same place as the Declaration of Independence of America, in Philadelphia; the first lady of Czechoslovakia was an American, the Anglo-Saxon American wife of our President. The Czechoslovaks will never forget the powerful American visitors to Europe, who strongly helped to liberate us: the proclamation of the American conditions of peace, the visit of the American soldiers, the visit of the American bread, which saved Europe from starvation, the visit of the American dollar, which saved Europe from bankruptcy. The Czechoslovaks not only know of these things, but they are deeply thankful. The Czechoslovaks are the *beati posidentes* in Prague of the Wilson's monument, Wilson Central Station, American Street, and Hoover Avenue. One of the American correspondents just after the armistice found in one Czechoslovak village where there were seventy-eight houses, eighty-seven pictures of President Wilson, and over ninety American flags.

But there are deeper signs of spiritual relation between America and Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovaks themselves are the most eager interpreters of the American culture including religion. They are foreseeing and hastening the fifth and the most important American visit to Europe—the American culture. It is only stating a fact when the European nations call the Czechoslovaks "the Yankees of Europe." The process which is going on now in Europe may without exaggeration be called the Americanization of Europe, and in the foreground of this movement go the Czechoslovaks. The newest

Czechoslovak literature is full of traces of American influence. One of the youngest Professors of Philosophy of the Prague University, the successor of President Masaryk, returned recently from a trip from America with a great enthusiasm for America. He spoke and wrote about America with admiration. But the *novum* in his view was not only recognizing the American life generally but praising that field of American life which the European did not appreciate for a long time—the American culture. He openly proclaimed that the European tradition to proclaim the American culture as inferior to the European culture, is out of date.

Europe was never more ready to accept the greatest treasure which America possesses—the American culture including religion—than today, and the most ardent admirers and interpreters of the Americanization in Europe are the inhabitants of the heart of Europe, Czechoslovakia, who had in the past so many close ties with America.

THE NEW SCIENCE AND RELIGION

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SOME strange mysterious reports have been coming in from the front-line trenches of scientific advance—reports rather difficult to decipher and apparently at variance with much that we once accepted as final fact. Confusing, tantalizing, challenging—this new data is piling up its mysteries with such labels as " quantum theory," " non-Euclidean geometry," " indeterminacy," " curved space," " relativity." And in the midst of it all are Einstein, Eddington, Heisenberg, Schrodinger, Millikan, and others, sorting and sifting, by involved but accurate mathematical formulæ, the truth from falsity. The terms are difficult enough to understand, but the mathematics are beyond all but a scant few.

Mystified, yet eager with new world curiosity, we want to know. If our religion is a sincere attempt to see things whole, these new things must be included. If our religion strives to bind life into a unity, this new data must be cogged into it. If our religion is reflective rather than merely conventional, it must be concerned with new truth. " However incompetent any one of us may be," says Robert Millikan, " to handle the relations of these great fields, every one of us must of necessity attempt to do so for himself if he is a reflectively moral being; for every such person must integrate his experiences into some sort of philosophy and some sort of religion. Further, as he gropes his own way—and the best of us are only gropers—he cannot possibly refuse to tell a fellow inquiring groper what he sees or thinks he sees with such light as is available to him." [1] Let us grope our way then into this strange new area of knowledge. We may find interesting and pertinent things. If we come away with some misunderstandings, we may excuse our-

[1] *Evolution in Science and Religion*, by Robert G. Millikan, p. 4.

selves—even if others do not—by the fact that even those who are at home in the midst of these new reaches of science are often confused and perplexed themselves.

I

As a background against which we may see all the more clearly the distinctive features of the new science, let us look at the outstanding characteristics of nineteenth-century science, the science we learned in high school and college. Put into a few phrases it would be something like this: First, there were ninety-two elements, unchangeable and eternal—the building blocks of the universe. Secondly, these elements acted in such an orderly way that science deduced the universal reign of law, culminating at last in La Place's famous *Mecanique Celeste,* wherein the mechanistic interpretation of life was so thorough that the author assured the world that were the present state of the universe completely comprehended, every succeeding moment of its existence could be accurately described. Third, the wave theory of light was verified and through the experiments of Maxwell and Hertz its similarity with radiant heat and long electromagnetic waves established. Fourth, the famous second law of thermodynamics, known as entropy, or the degradation of energy, by which the tendency of energy to assume lower forms was described. Fifth, " the most fundamental generalization of all science," the principle of the conservation of energy, was stated and accepted as universally true. This was the general structure of nineteenth-century science, so soon to be shaken with the tremors of a new force.

That force was announced by Roentgen on Christmas Eve of '96, when he presented his first X-ray pictures. Here was a strange new phenomena. In the light of this penetrating ray, astounding discoveries were soon to be made in the vast realm of the unexplored subatomic world. Scarcely a year later came the discovery of radioactivity. Here was found one of those supposedly unchangeable elements shooting off tiny parts of

itself at a speed close to that of light and at the same time itself changing into another element. The dream of ancient alchemy, to transform elements, we found happening in nature. The old "building block" foundation of ninety-two elements suddenly toppled in confusion. We found a dynamic rather than static universe—our old machine-model explanations didn't fit this at all. Mysteries crowded in on us. Whence came the energy equal to several million volts for the ejection of this fast moving particle? Could such action be expedited or hindered? How could it be explained?

Out of it all came the famous electron theory—"the grandest because the simplest of all physical generalizations." This theory split the supposedly indivisible atom into mysterious forces known as electrons and protons. All the elements, once thought to be qualitatively different, were now resolved into a basic unity by this new conception of the atom. The strange regularity of atomic weights now became clear; the helium atom, weighing four times that of hydrogen, was found to contain four electrons, the hydrogen atom one. Out of the invisible, immaterial, integral force of the electron all the visible, material, varied phenomena of life came. It shifted our idea of reality from static to dynamic, from matter to energy, from a multi-elemental world to a fundamental unity of nature.

It was in measuring and experimenting in this subatomic world that science first came face to face with phenomena that did not fit the wave theory of light. It had been thought that Fresnel and Young had conclusively verified the fact that light flowed from a radiating body as sound from the prong of a tuning-fork. But in this electronic world it became evident that radiation was "jerked" off in measurable quantities. Instead of light being a smooth-flowing stream which could be diminished and thus divided interminably, it was granular in make-up and in its ultimate state was indivisible. In coarser phenomena of life it appeared as fluid sand but in the micro-

scopic particulars of electron study its grains became evident. So there came the famous "quantum theory" describing the granular nature of radiation, and from which there has been developed by Compton a modified corpuscular theory of light. This atomic nature of light has been further extended to include all motion.

The perplexing thing about this quantum theory is that many phenomena can only be explained by the wave theory with which it seems incompatible. It was recently said by Sir William Bragg that it was necessary to use the quantum theory Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, the wave theory Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Though inconsistent, both seem necessary, the first to explain even such coarse phenomena as the invisibility of a boiling tea-kettle, the latter the coruscation of a soap-bubble.

Scarcely had this conception appeared before men began to measure and experiment with these ultimate bullets of light and electron. Involved as the subject becomes, experimentation has brought accurate information of these primal reactions. One can mathematically predict the path of a billiard ball struck by a bullet if velocity and position are known. We can do it with what we call accuracy. But, peculiarly, it is not possible to predict the result of a collision between the quantum of light and an electron. Experimentation seems to verify this condition, and from it comes Heisenberg's theory of indeterminacy, a veritable earthquake beneath the towers of the old stronghold of mechanistic law by which prediction was counted both certain and absolute in all the realms of the natural world.

Now while this development was going on from electron theory to quantum and indeterminacy, another fact appeared in the study of radioactivity of momentous consequence. Uranium radiating negative electrons became lead, but the mass of lead was less than that of uranium. As early as 1901 Einstein had showed that the mass of an electron increased as its velocity approached the velocity of light. It seemed as though matter

could be annihilated, the famous conservation principle and Sir Isaac Newton notwithstanding. Only on the basis of such a theory could the continued radiation of the sun be explained. In radiation it loses 360,000 million tons daily. This amount of light and heat cannot be explained merely by the sun's shrinkage, but it does become possible if in the interior of the sun where there are possibly temperatures of 40,000,000 degrees Centigrade matter is being transformed into radiant energy. For it takes extremely small amounts of matter to release tremendous quantities of atomic power. A bit of coal the size of a pea would propel the Mauretania to England and back again. In the ordinary combustion of coal we only use six one-hundred-thousand-millionths of its energy. Our biggest difficulty is in the release of such resources of energy, for it has been calculated that only the equivalent energy of 2,200 thousand million degrees Centigrade would be capable of splitting off the electronic power of the hydrogen atom! This is reason enough why we cannot expedite or hinder radioactivity. We have reached the certainty, however, that matter is annihilable and can be transformed into energy.

Another amazing chapter in this story of radioactivity is the recent detection by Robert Millikan of rays capable of penetrating a wall of lead sixteen feet thick, with a frequency a thousand times greater than X-rays. This newly found force seems to enter our world from outer space. Its energy evidently corresponds to the twenty-two hundred thousand million degrees Centigrade necessary to release atomic power. To these cosmic rays, Millikan suggests we may look for the creative power capable of building the proton and its accompanying electrons in the form of matter. Thus entropy may be the downward scale up which by help of cosmic rays nature may run again in recreation.

Finally let us look at the most spectacular and popularized development of the new science. Relativity and the name of Einstein go together. In 1905, when he was only twenty-

seven, Einstein's first theory of relativity appeared, and ever since his papers have been heralded with much publicity. He had already shown in 1901 that mass was not absolute but relative to velocity. His continued experiments rendered both motion and direction as well as time to be relative. One might easily understand the relativity of motion and direction by assuming two trains traveling at different speeds, fifty and twenty miles per hour respectively. If we ride in the slow one, it seems as we compare it to the faster one passing us that we are going backward. We can assure ourselves of our direction and speed by looking at the ground. But elevate both trains in space, with no fixed standard for comparison, and there is no way of telling true speed. All we could possibly say was that one train was traveling thirty miles faster than the other, the "other" seeming to stand still or even to be going in the opposite direction. We are sure of no fixed ground in the stellar universe. All space and motion are relative.

Similarly, time is relative to velocity. Any one traveling equal to the rate of light away from a clock would be traveling with the image of the clock hands at the instant one left and it would not change. Time would be all "now." An aviator capable of flying 160,000 miles per second would see a foot rule as six inches and the day as twelve hours long. We, however, on the earth do not know how fast we are traveling through space and therefore are unable to make compensation for any such contraction. All our measurements, so praised for accuracy of space, time, and motion, are fundamentally relative, and cannot be absolute.

Moreover, Einstein believes that all space is curved and that gravity is not the attractive force of matter but a property of this curvature. Things do not tend to move in a straight line only to be deflected by gravitational pull as Newton thought, but rather things move in curved lines because reality is made that way. Even parallels drawn in such curved space would

meet. Light travels in the same curvature. This curvature was determined by Einstein, and when the solar eclipse of 1925 occurred the position of the stars hidden by the sun confirmed his theory. In a similar fashion it resolved the mystifying irregularities in the orbit of Mercury. It is this curvature of space developed to its natural completion which transforms our idea of the universe. If all space is curved, it becomes in the end a finite but unbounded area, somewhat comparable to the surface of a sphere. The universe becomes measurable and can even be weighed.

Yet not for one minute should we think that this " finite " universe would be " little." Einstein gives its diameter at 168,000 million light years. It would take light 500,000 million years to traverse the vast curvature of space. Suggestively several physicists have suggested that two nebulæ known as b3433 and M83 may be the backs of our nearest nebulæ M33 and M31, the images having taken 500,000 million years for their vast journey. One need only look at Jean's model of the universe to grasp the " infinitude " of Einstein's " finiteness." Let the orbit of the earth around the sun, 600 million miles, be represented by the head of a pin. The sun would be 1/3,400th of an inch; the nearest star 225 yards away; the next hundred would make the model a mile in all directions; continue for 7,000 miles and we're still within our own galactic system; travel 30,000 miles before starting the next system of thousands of millions of stars; repeat this until we have two million galactic systems; now we have reached the end of our telescopic knowledge; and this is only one-thousand-millionth of the universe! All to the scale of 600,000 million miles to 1/16 inch. Finite, but beyond the reach of our imaginative thrust!

To summarize our findings in quick phrases we could say first, we find the universe not static or multi-elemental, but dynamic and with a basic unity; secondly, La Place's mechanism gives way to Heisenberg's indeterminacy; third, the quantum theory takes its place side by side with the wave theory of

radiation; fourth, matter may be transformed into energy and possibly energy into matter, thus shattering our conservation principles and bringing a ray of hope through the gloom of entropy; fifth, our pride in absolute measurement and scientific certainty has vanished with the coming of Einstein's relativity. The most amazing and momentous shift in the history of scientific thinking has been occurring within our own time. What effect will it have upon our religion?

II

To be sure, if one is thinking of the conventional type of religion, there will probably be little or no immediate effect. The ordinary phenomena of life will continue to be described in terms of nineteenth-century science. "Einstein includes all of Newton." Whether one believes in Einstein's curvature of space or Newton's force of gravity, falling brings its consequences. Whether its quantum or wave, the electricity will still supply light. The involved nature of the new science, its difficulty of explanation, its basis of mathematical symbolism, all make it of little import to the man in the street.

Yet if it becomes part of the reflective religion of a few, its resulting attitudes will permeate the mass in a degree similar to the influences of mechanism and evolution. The latter have been popularized of course in a manner which now seems improbable for the theories of the new science. It is, however, a matter of first import to the man who earnestly strives to think his religion out with all the data available concerning reality. To rest religion on anything less than the most fundamental truths we have found concerning the ultimate character of the universe seems precarious, to say the least. Religion dealing with reality cannot side-step science dealing with reality. It may be well enough to separate the regions in which religion and science function cognitively, but we know that actually what a man thinks about the universe will make a difference as to what he thinks about God and life and himself.

The first item of religious interest is the exit of dogmatism. It is out—bag and baggage. Nineteenth-century science was apt to be as dogmatic as thirteenth-century religion. Haeckel was a worse dogmatist than Aquinas! The new science can't be. Mystery after mystery have assaulted its forces. New phenomena refused to fit old principles and supposedly verified laws. Over it all came Heisenberg's theory of indeterminacy wrecking the old cocksureness of predictable certainty, and relativity left our scientific conceit in accurate measurement in rags and tatters. Dogmatism has met its day of doom. Let's beware of its ghost wherever it may rise.

The second shift of science of import to us is the abandonment of the mechanistic interpretation of the universe. From the very first, radioactivity presented phenomena that would not fit in with any machine-model explanation. When electronic study finally culminated in Heisenberg's theory of indeterminacy and Einstein's astrophysical experiments in simultaneity were developed, the whole structure so elaborately built of cause and effect, reign of law, contingency and determinism, had to be torn down. And in its place there is being reared a strangely different type of model—if model it could be called—of dynamism, relativity, and mystery. The first was a perfect machine of numberless parts; the latter a living power of growing unity.

The reign of law so often blessed by priest and church became so thorough that one could not manage to get the knife blade of free choice and preference between its tight, contingent necessities. Free-will and predestination in religion, freedom and law in morality, novelty and contingency in philosophy, mechanism and indeterminacy in science, have always been mutually exclusive except in moments of sophistry. "A universe whose essential characteristic is fixed order and connection has no place for unique and individual existences, no place for novelty and genuine change and growth." [2] We see now

[2] *Quest for Certainty*, John Dewey, p. 209.

that all laws are statistical probabilities rather than exact descriptions. The actuarial law of the frequency of deaths at a certain age is not the biography of an individual, any more than the law describing the average relations of certain events is the precise measurement of any individual element involved. Or to put it another way, " nature *has* a mechanism sufficiently constant to permit of calculation, inference, and foresight. But only a philosophy which hypostatizes isolated results and results obtained for a purpose, only a substantiation of the function of being a tool, concludes that nature *is* a mechanism and only a mechanism." [3]

This change has given us elbow room for freedom, growth, and novelty, something we did not have in the intricately cogged machine of connected and absolute predictive law. And while the consequences of indeterminacy seem to render the universe unintelligible and chaotic, the result is actually not so catastrophic. " What has been lost in the theoretical possibility of exact knowledge and exact prediction is more than compensated for by the fact that the knowing which occurs within nature involves possibility of direction of change." [4] As individualities have preferential choice, so we may determine through which laws to guide our lives toward hoped for consequences. The uncertainty of that future ought to shake loose all spiritual pride and exclusiveness from our souls until we walk humbly with our God and share the labors of our common brother man.

In the third place, there came the wreck of the absolutes. Time, space, and motion no longer inhered in the nature of things as Newton once thought but are relative terms describing " the relations of events." A pound may weigh more or less, a yardstick may be longer or shorter, an hour may vary under different circumstances. The inherited Platonic " ideal forms " in modern philosophy and religion were left high in the air with no evidence in fact. The absolutes of space, time, and

[3] Ibid., p. 248. [4] Ibid., p. 213.

motion were not only discountenanced but the attendant doubt of truth, goodness, and beauty as being essences of things in themselves quickly arose. Let us look at just one of these religious absolutes—goodness. Much religion thinks of certain things as good or bad. It was a quality inherent, unchangeable, and eternal. Card-playing bad, church-going good; in such a manner conventional morality passed its judgment. There was one " goodness " for all men in all conditions of life. But what if goodness is not an inherent essence of life but a relative term describing a sequence of events and thus dependent upon that particular frame of circumstances for its quality? We would not ask whether the universe *per se* is good or bad; we would not judge men in different frames of life by our own experience; we would be tolerant of other moral convictions; we would not label things good or bad until we saw the sequence in which they fit and the involved consequence. There is no " hierarchical table of values " by which we may catalogue virtues in an ascending scale allowing just application to the various frames of life's differing experiences. " The absolute good," says Count Hermann Keyserling,[5]

> visualized by all religions and ethics and experiences by every man from his childhood as the ultimate imperative, never on this earth consists in anything other than the decision for the good arrived at in the given case. . . Hence Kant's doctrine that there exists no true good except good-will. Hence the words of Master Eckhardt the mystic: "And if thou failest not in thy will but only in thy capacity, verily thou hast done all before God." Hence also the rejection of the " just " by all truly ethical minds. For the just believe in an objective good independent of the subjects working in it, a good the observance of which is all that is required, where the only things that count are actual good acts. He who believes himself a good man only because he observes definite laws is evil in the deepest metaphysical sense.

No artist has Absolute Beauty as an example; no architect an Absolute Cathedral for comparison; no scientist the Absolute Law for checking data. These all deal with concrete items in a

[5] *Discovery of Truth*, Count Hermann Keyserling, p. 539–40.

particular frame of events. We, too, need to take our heads out of the clouds of a moral idealism that satisfies itself in the illusive and deceptive Absolute, a sort of blue-print of Ideal Goodness, and come down to the earth where sometimes the good of one age becomes the evil of another, and the morality of one soul may be another's immorality. Jesus' moral judgment was always a reference to the frame of events—" By their fruits ye shall know them." As Dewey says, " The test of consequences is more exacting than that afforded by fixed general rules." [6]

Surely John Dewey has read our confusion aright when he declares that " man has never had such a varied body of knowledge in his possession before, and probably never before has he been so uncertain and so perplexed as to what his knowledge means, what it points to in action and in consequences." [7] And yet it is out of this very perplexing abundance of new fact that there comes the hopeful revelation of a dynamic universe, changeable and growing, whose forces may be directed by intelligent activity according to the preferential choice of its inhabitants. An amazingly vast illustration of this ability to guide and change the conditions of life is written large in the practical influences of scientific experimentation. The electron is studied, and lo! broadcasting and multi-carrier telephony lines boost business to the tune of billions of dollars annually. The most difficult thing to understand, however, is that we take such trouble to study, analyze, and discover the most minute details of physical things for the sake of control, but are not merely indifferent but actually resist any attempt to base religion or morals on anything less than divine fiat, ecclesiastical authority, or dogmatic finality. Our muddled mood today in morality is the result of a sudden collapse of the " kingly pattern of authority " and the revealing mixture of varied customs. What passed for goodness had been the path of least resistance in con-

[6] *Quest for Certainty*, John Dewey, p. 278.
[7] Ibid., p. 313.

formity to conventional folkways. As for reflective morality, we found ourselves with little or none—but with a tremendous need for it amid the complex difficulties of modern civilization. One thing is sure, we cannot long banish the experimental attitude from either religion or morality as long as we teach it in our educational processes at school. If the universe is changeable and growing, it is not enough to have creeds or ideals; these things must cog into the sequence of events so as to leave the world different.

> A genuine idealism and one compatible with science will emerge as soon as philosophy (and religion) accepts the teaching of science that ideas are statements not of what is or has been but of acts to be performed. For then mankind will learn that, intellectually (that is, save for the esthetic enjoyment they afford, which is of course a true value) ideas are worthless except as they pass into actions which rearrange and reconstruct in some way, be it little or large, the world in which we live. . . But they will be integral with the course of experience itself, not imported from the external source of a reality beyond.[8]

Jesus evidently realized this very intimate relationship of experimentation and knowledge, when he declared "If any man will to do His will, he shall know. . ." This has been the path of science in its increasing ability to guide and change the direction of nature's energies. To venture forth upon such principles would cost religion its creedal certainties, dogmatic absolutes, and pretence of finality. Like Buddha it would face life with "no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary premeditations, no obstinacy, and no egoism." It would enter a "field of exploration which cries out for very emptiness"—a field where goodness and faith might be hammered out of the common metals of human experience on the anvils of daily life into usable tools for the thorough development of man's capacities. This dynamic universe revealed by the new science, capable of novelty and change, challenges the guiding intelligence of man. His very religion becomes immoral when he

[8] Ibid., p. 138–9.

withdraws his will from the shifting currents of life to dally with fantasies of absolutes and dreams of far-flung generalities. Only a religion purged of its pretentiousness, walking humbly with God, will do. Then morality will be as humble, and man will "*learn* to do justly and love mercy" even as he has learned the ways of stars and electrons—by stepping from experienced or experimental fact to fact and knowing the relations of events so well as to be able to direct and use such forces as would change men's living.

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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF NEW TESTAMENT STUDY

A Review in Popular Form [1]

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A New Testament

At the opening of the present century, there had already appeared the conception that there is no warrant in either fact or reason for the segregation of the writings now found in the New Testament from the other early Christian writings. Gustav Krüger, for example, published in 1897[2] *The History of Early Christian Literature.* He included the books of the New Testament along with other early Christian writings as of the same general character. The idea of a New Testament of canonical classification and significance was held to be unwarranted and not in accordance with the true view of the facts of the case. This conception has continued to be held and emphasized through these years and is now regarded by many as fully established and vindicated.[3]

It should not escape our attention, however, that the very earliest Christian writings we possess, outside of those that are found in the New Testament collection, present certain conceptions not fully in accord with this view. Clement of Rome, writing about 95 A. D., says: [4] "The apostles have preached the gospel to us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. Christ, therefore, was sent forth by God and the apostles by Christ." Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, writes about

[1] Paper delivered to the Ministerial Conference held in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, and of the presidency of Dr. C. M. Hill.

[2] Harnack published his great work *Geschichte der Altchristliche Literatur* during the years 1893-1894. He included all early Christian writings in his discussions.

[3] See the comprehensive article by H. R. Willoughby, *The Study of Early Christianity During the Last Quarter Century,* in *Journal of Religion,* Vol. VI, No. 3 (May, 1926).

[4] Clement to the Corinthians I, chapter 42.

115 A. D.,[5] "Neither I nor any other such one can come up to the wisdom of the blessed and glorified Paul." Ignatius of Antioch on his way to Rome for martyrdom, writes about 115 A. D.,[6] "Ye are initiated into the mysteries of the gospel with Paul, the holy, the martyred, the deservedly most happy at whose feet (in whose footsteps) may I be found when I attain to God." Again,[7] "I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you. They were apostles, I am but a condemned man; they were free, while I am even until now, a servant." The feeling and consciousness of a distinction between these early Christian writers and the apostles, which is reflected here in these passages just quoted, is representative not only of their own attitude, as indicated throughout their writings, but is the common and constant attitude which is reflected in all these first Christian writings. They feel that a sharp distinction must be observed between the early apostolic group and themselves. And it is of a piece with this that the common consciousness of the Christian churches of the second century should have developed as its natural expression a well-defined New Testament canon before the century was complete.

An inspection of the writings collected and segregated into the New Testament reveals an immediacy of relation, a certainty and confidence, and a discernment that are striking and superior. This is true in measured degree even in the writings (e. g., Jude and 2 Peter) that are reckoned among the latest. To ignore the distinction that appears in the literature and decline to accept the New Testament as a distinct body of material, is to ignore a constant and well-emphasized element of the mind and attitude of both groups of writers—those of the first and those of the second century. The canonization of a New Testament is not a modern formulation. It is a simple expression of the thinking of the second-century church. The New Testament came into being as a distinct canon simply

[5] Epistle to the Philippians, chapter 3.
[6] To the Ephesians, chapter 12.
[7] To the Romans, chapter 4.

because the second-century church made a distinction in its own mind between its own writings and those of the early apostolic period. This is a plain fact, and it is a refusal to accept a plain fact of basic significance to set it aside. The second-century literature gives abundant evidence that it believed in the essential continuity of the Christian movement and tradition from the beginning down to its own day, and the New Testament is, to be sure, only a part of the literature of early Christianity. But it is a part that that early Christianity set aside and canonized because, in so doing, it confessed not only its interpretation of that early literature, but also its estimate of its own literature in relation to that first literature and its authors. To ignore this is to vitiate our interpretation of early Christianity and its literature.

The Text of the New Testament

At the opening of the present century, the accepted critical text of the New Testament among all English and American scholars was that of Westcott and Hort (WH) which appeared in 1881. Gregory, the chief living authority of those years in this field, says in his *Canon and Text of the New Testament,* p. 463 (1907), "I have good sense enough for the present to accept their [i. e., WH] conclusions and to work upon them until something better comes." Goodspeed used this text as the basis of his translation of the New Testament—departing from it in only six instances—and it is now the generally accepted text of the New Testament in the English-speaking world. WH divide the New Testament text into four great types: (a) The Syrian, the latest of all, based on a revision made in the early fourth century. It constitutes the so-called Textus Receptus, is found, e. g., in A-Codex Alexandrinus, of the fifth century, now in the British Museum; in E F G H K of the Gospels and in most of the cursives and later MSS. (b) Their second type of text is the Alexandrian, found in C or Ephraem Rescriptus, a palimpsest of the fifth century, and now in the

Royal Library of Paris; found also in 33, "the queen of the cursives," and in the old Bohairic Coptic; (c) their third type is the western, found in D, or Codex Bezæ, of the sixth century, a bilingual Greek Latin manuscript, now in the Library of the University of Cambridge. It is the text of the Old Latin and the old Syriac. WH believe this text to be of second-century origin, but very corrupt in character and of generally inferior quality. (d) Their fourth type of text they call the Neutral—found in ℵ or Codex Sinaiticus, of the fourth century, and now in St. Petersburg (Leningrad); in B or Codex Vaticanus, of the first half of the fourth century, and now in the Vatican at Rome; found also in most of the papyrus fragments, the oldest of which belong to the third century, and now total about fifty; Matt. 1: 1-9, 12-20 is the oldest known and is of the third century.

This classification of WH has been subjected to long-continued criticism at various points. At the opening of the century their evaluation of the Western type of text was under question, and there was a demand for a restudy of this Western text material. The opinion was common that such a restudy would result in giving to the Western text a higher value than WH had assigned it. This was the center of interest in textual study at the opening of the century. Twenty-five years ago the Von Soden Text of the New Testament was just being issued in three large volumes [8] one containing the text and the critical apparatus of readings, and the other two containing a discussion and classification of manuscripts. It was intended to displace the WH text and their classification of material. Though the labor Von Soden had expended upon the work was enormous, his classification of materials was so cumbersome, and his statement of readings so inaccurate that his vast work almost died in the borning. This text of Von Soden was used by Moffatt for his translation of the New Testament, but aside

[8] Teil I: i, 1902; ii, 1906; iii, 1907; iv, 1910.
Teil II: 1913.
Teil III: Text, 1913.

from this it has received scant attention among English-speaking scholars. A part of the purpose of the Von Soden text confessedly was the reevaluation of the Western text which WH had discounted so emphatically.

But some new material has been discovered since Von Soden's work and continued investigation has shifted the form of the problem until now the storm-center of the discussion is the question of the origin of the *Neutral* text of WH and the effort to get behind both Neutral and Western to the primitive text.[9] The text which WH named the Neutral and which they believed to be as nearly the primitive text as can be recovered, is now held by many to be the text of Origen at Alexandria at the opening of the third century. Others hold it to be the primitive text before the New Testament became canonical, supplanted in the middle of the second century by the Western and recovered by Origen at Alexandria at the opening of the third century. Others hold that both the Neutral and the Western are early variant forms of the primitive text, and that we must go behind both to arrive at the original text. Still other classifications of the early textual materials and new families of the text are being proposed on the basis of the new evidence. The story is not yet closed, and which of the major types is to be regarded as oldest and most nearly like the original, is yet to be determined. But it is clear that the work of WH and those who have followed them represents a great advance. The critical texts of WH, of Von Soden, B. Weiss and others, are greatly superior to the old Textus Receptus, the text underlying the Authorized version, as the basis of critical study. Occasionally there are those who object to this " tampering with the sacred text " as inimical to the cause of our Christian religion. Anent this view Gregory's words are pertinent:[10] " It is singular to see a man anxious to have the latest and best thing in electric lights, but totally indifferent to having

[9] Prof. Kirsopp Lake and Prof. J. H. Ropes, of Harvard, and Prof. E. J. Goodspeed, of Chicago, are outstanding American scholars in this field.

[10] *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, p. 522.

the best text in his New Testament." In our critical texts we have a New Testament of substantial accuracy. But we will not be content. We forge ahead for still closer approximation to the true and original text.

The Language of the New Testament

At the opening of the twenty-five year period just now closing, the language of the New Testament had already come in for new illumination. Older scholarship had recognized its differences from the ancient classical Greek, and had sought to show that the New Testament Greek was either the equal in linguistic quality to the classical Greek of the Athens of Socrates and Plato, or else that it was a specially and providentially prepared language intended by Providence to be the unique vehicle of a new and unique message to men. These latter held also that the language had its own vocabulary, forms, and constructions and could not be subjected to the ordinary rules of grammatical, literary, and philological interpretation. This point of view had opened the way for all sorts of vagaries and misapprehensions in New Testament interpretation. The well-known volume of Deissmann *Licht vom Osten* appeared in 1908.[11] It had already been preceded by articles and other publications by such scholars as Moulton in England, Thumb in Germany, and many others whom time does not permit us to mention. Deissmann has now reappeared in English in 1927 (fourth or third edition); we have the grammar of Moulton, being completed by Howard, the Grammar of Robertson, fourth edition, the Lexicons of Preuschen in Germany, of Abbott-Smith and Souter in Canada and England, and now just recently completed the Vocabulary of the New Testament, begun by Moulton and Milligan, and completed by Milligan. No longer is the character of the New Testament language an open question. It is now a settled and accepted fact that the

[11] Grenfell and Hunt of England are particularly significant names in the discovery and publication of papyri, the material upon which Deissmann largely based his studies.

New Testament is written in the ordinary Greek (*koiné*) of its day. For the most part it is in the vernacular which is found in the enormous stores of papyrus materials which have been recovered from the life of that ancient day. In some of the New Testament writings, e. g., "Hebrews," the language has a literary or semiliterary flavor, in some of it there is ample evidence of Aramaisms and Hebraisms, yet on the whole it is just the language that was in every-day use everywhere in the empire at that time. The New Testament was written in the vernacular, and its message and spirit can be best understood and appreciated when we read it not in the literary language of the Authorized version but in the modernized translations. On this understanding we have had in this century the *Twentieth Century New Testament,* 1898-1904; Weymouth's (text and) translation, 1902; Moffatt's translation, based on the Von Soden's text, 1913; Ballantine's translation based on the Nestle text—an eclectic of Tischendorf and WH, arbitrated in the first edition (1898) by Weymouth; since 1901, in ten editions, by Weiss; and Goodspeed based on WH, 1923. Mrs. Montgomery's translation, published in 1924, is less vernacular in style. The purpose of these translators is that which characterized Jerome in giving the Vulgate, Wycliffe, and Tyndale in their translations into English, the Revisers, the American Revisers, and all those who put the New Testament into the language of the peoples on the mission fields of today. It is the desire to transfer the original language of the New Testament—the vernacular of its day—into the language of the people—the vernacular of our day. Such a desire has always met the opposition of leaders of the church and those who did not understand the real spirit of these workers, but intelligent people no longer question the right and desirability of such translations.

The Historical-Literary Study of the New Testament

In the field of Introduction or Historical-Literary Criticism there are certain problems that have long been with us. In

respect to some of these there has been no considerable change of view or progress during the past twenty-five years. Scholarship, on the whole, seems to have settled down, e. g., to the position that the authorship of the Pauline writings does not need further defense or elucidation in reference to the Thessalonian letters, the two Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon. The state of opinion with respect to the Pastorals is not nearly so uniform, and the case for Ephesians can hardly be considered closed. Prof. E. J. Goodspeed, e. g., believes that Ephesians is the product of the church community at Ephesus which first made a collection of Pauline letters somewhere about the year 90 or later. The place and time within the career of Paul to which the various writings should be assigned have come in for more discussion and about some of them, "the opinions of most men are still divided" (Eusebius). A find of Deissmann [12]—an inscription containing a reference to Gallio of Acts 18: 12—is believed to have settled the case for Paul's arrival at Corinth in the year 50, and the writing of the two Thessalonian letters by the middle of the year 51 A. D. Whether Galatians was written to the northern or southern group of churches in Galatia is not yet agreed upon—perhaps never will be—and its date is involved in this question. The two Corinthian letters are assigned with much uniformity to about 52-55, but the unity and integrity of these letters, especially the second—are under question. How many letters or fragments does 2 Corinthians contain? Is it one letter, or parts of two letters, or three, or four, or five? Is Romans a true letter, or is the body of it a theological essay and manifesto of Paul, written for general use and sent with appropriate opening and closing sections to various churches; one form of which we have in our canonical letter? Is Philippians one letter or two fragments? Is our present Colossians just as it came from the hand of Paul, or are the great Christological passages from another and later hand?

[12] See Adolph Deissmann, *Paul*, 2nd ed., p. 261-286.

Should the imprisonment letters be located in the period of the Roman imprisonment of Paul as reflected in the last two verses of Acts? Or do they in part belong to the two years of Cæsarea before he went to Rome, or do they in fact belong to the period of the Ephesian residence of Paul and the conditions reflected in 2 Corinthians 1: 8-10—as a considerable body of first-class scholars now believes?

Is the letter of the Laodiceans (Col. 4: 16) wholly lost, or do we have it in the Ephesians, or even more probably in the so-called letter to Philemon? These questions are still with us, and at the present time there is no heavy drag in any one direction respecting their solution.

The Johannine problem is perennial. There has been no essential change of front on this question during this quarter of a century. Already, at the opening of the century it was apparent that the strict apostolic authorship of the Johannine writings was in for a period of serious questioning. It now appears that the decision is about to be reached that the Johannine writings can be connected with the apostle only indirectly; that this literature is a product of a school of thought around Ephesus about the opening of the second century. It is regarded as much more likely that John the Presbyter (of Papias) is the source of the literature and even this close personal identification would not command the assent of all.

The main body of opinion is more and more decisively coming to the position that the Pauline letters are the earliest of the New Testament writings, and that all other New Testament material of the present collection is post-Pauline and must be assigned to the last decades of the first century and the earlier years of the second century.

But the main center of interest for the last twenty-five years has not been in these segments of New Testament study. The Synoptic Gospels and the book of Acts have been the storm-center of discussion, and at the present time they still hold the

field. The Lucan authorship of Acts seems on the whole to have become the accepted view, but there are still those of high standing as scholars who refuse acceptance of this point of view. The sources and origin of Acts are questions that have been more seriously considered and are of more strategic importance. If the early part of Acts, 1-15, ("1st Acts") is based on Aramaic material, then the dates of such sources must be carried back into the early years of the Christian movement. Were these sources Aramaic? If so, were they used in the Aramaic by the author of the present Acts, or were they translated into Greek before they came into his possession? If they are to be assigned to Aramaic writing, then what is their date and what bearing have they on the more intimate understanding of early Jewish Christianity? The answers to these questions are varied but there is no difference of opinion about the strategic importance of the questions.

The effort to get back to the sources of Acts, and into an understanding of the pre-Pauline period leads to the consideration of the crucial questions respecting the cardinal factors entering into the origin and development of primitive Christianity. In the effort to secure this adequate and accurate understanding of the first years of the Christian movement, not only are the implications of Paul of prime value, but the book of Acts itself gives clear evidence of being based for this period of its story upon primitive materials. The doctrinal terms and conceptions which are reported for the early period are not at all those which are found in the developed Christology of the Pauline and post-Pauline periods. The evidence is strong that the accounts of these first days of the new faith bear the marks of verisimilitude and verity. The implications of Paul, and the explicit testimony of the early chapters of Acts are consistent with each other and with psychological probability.

But the most significant and persistent study has revolved around the Synoptic Gospels and the story of Jesus which they

present. This has had two phases—the literary and the historical—or the effort to solve the literary relations and sources of these Gospels, and the historical verity and accuracy of the story which they unfold.

About the beginning of our twenty-five year period, one of the greatest New Testament critics of America wrote in one of our theological journals [13] that it had now been determined and settled that at the base of our synoptic story there are two documents or sources—the Gospel of Mark (essentially as it is known to us) and a second source used in common by Matthew and Luke, composed largely of sayings or teachings of Jesus, and known, for want of a better designation, as Q (Quelle, the German word for source). But just a little more than twenty-five years ago (twenty-six years the latter part of this summer) there appeared the first discussion which has opened up a new conception of these source materials.[14] Professor Burton held that the analysis of the material shows four—not two—major sources.[15] This theory has come to be known as the Chicago theory, and has won a number of followers, particularly in this country. Various other theories, involving not the two, but several sources, have been proposed, and all these have come to be known as " multiple theories " as against the two-document theory which seemed about to be regarded as final. One of the most recent of these theories and the one that has attracted most attention is that of Streeter, the well-known English scholar, member of the famous seminar of Sanday. He proposes for the major sources four, as did Burton, but he locates, arranges, and constructs them differently. He has Mark from Rome about 60 used by Matthew and Luke; M from Jerusalem about 65 used only by Matthew; Q from Antioch about 50 used by Matthew, and behind Luke also; L from Cæsarea about 60, also lying behind Luke. Matthew originated at Antioch about 85 A. D., and Luke at Corinth? or Cæsarea? about 80. The

[13] Prof. B. W. Bacon, in *Harvard Theological Review.*
[14] E. D. Burton, *The Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem.*
[15] Mark, a Galilean Document (G), a Perean Document (P), a special Matthean source (M).

most distinct phase of his theory is the positing of a "Proto-Luke" which was a full Gospel including about two-thirds of our present Luke, written on the basis of Q and L and forming the primary source for our present Luke. This theory has received much attention and approval, especially in England.[16] The two-document theory can no longer claim to hold the center of attention, and it is apparent that the studies of those who hold some form of the multiple theory have put the two-document theory on the defensive. With this also, must be mentioned the fact that there are some of the most celebrated of living scholars (Harnack, e. g., died July 10, 1930) who favor an earlier date for this material than was generally accepted a quarter of a century ago. Connected with the view that we have Aramaic sources as a background of both Acts and part of the Gospel material, the next result is to set the whole story into an earlier period, and grow the material on a soil which is more largely Palestinian. This makes for nearness of report to fact, and the general suggestion of credibility and accuracy.

Perhaps a word should be said at this point concerning the mythical school. Arthur Drews,[17] J. M. Robertson,[18] and W. B. Smith [19] are three well-known names, and they argue that the story of Jesus in the Gospels is merely a late form of Babylonian astral myths that had come down from ancient days; no such person as Jesus ever lived. It must here suffice to say that this point of view and the arguments by which it has been supported have not been taken seriously by scientific New Testament scholarship. No scientific New Testament scholar of the present time accepts this view.

One of the most notable movements in the field of Gospel study is that which is known from its German name as Form-

[16] See especially Vincent Taylor, Article, "The Synoptic Gospels and Some Recent British Criticism," *Journal of Religion*, April, 1928.

[17] Of Germany.

[18] Of England.

[19] Of New Orleans.

Criticism.[20] Stated briefly and bluntly this method of study proceeds upon the assumption that the particular form in which the stories of deeds and words that are imbedded in the Gospels are reported to us is determined by the necessities of the situation and need which they were intended to serve. All this material was preaching material, and the constant use of it in oral teaching and preaching modified its form in accordance with the particular demands of special needs and conditions. This means that neither the words nor the deeds of Jesus can be determined in their original forms and content, but only in the form in which the early preachers felt that they would be useful and fruitful in their preaching. This is believed to be supported by the statement in the preface of Luke's Gospel, that the material which is included in his Gospel is such as was used catechetically that the Gentile converts might know the certainty of the things in which they had been instructed. This movement is the most significant invasion of the position that in the Gospels we have the original form of Jesus' words and deeds, that this past twenty-five years has produced. Closely connected with this view in spirit and point of view is that method which is known also from its German origin and nomenclature as the *religionsgeschichtliche* method.[21] In a word, this is the view that the material found in the Gospels is the material formulated in the community from which they arose and that the Gospels—or any other documents—are primary witnesses only for the beliefs and practises of the Christian community which produced them. It is necessary to go behind the documents and by processes of literary and historical comparison study the historical developments of the religious experience of the people among whom Christianity arose. In its extreme form this view suggests that any new or creative idea that appears in Christianity must have been borrowed from the general religious thinking of the Gentile world in which

[20] Prof. B. Scott Easton's *The Gospel Before the Gospels* is the most illuminating discussion of this method that we have had published in English.

[21] See the article of Willoughby, referred to above.

Christianity was seeking to establish itself. In its more moderate form it insists that Christianity was influenced and modified in its development by the thought, forms, and conceptions of its environment, and that the recovery of the original forms of Christian thought and life is a process demanding keen and penetrating historical criticism.

A third and closely related point of view is that which is known as the social psychology method.[22] In this method emphasis is placed not upon the thought and teaching of leaders, but upon the general mind and motivation of the group. Christianity is explained largely in terms of social psychology, but entering into this social mind there are influences of habitat and climate, of economic conditions, of social and political institutions, of cultural and religious relations and communications. Geography, anthropology, history, the political sciences, sociology, the religious institutions and practises and all inherited customs and cults, all must be studied. One must study the Jewish society in which Christianity arose and the Gentile society in which it was propagated, in which it met its rivals and in which it finally triumphed. In pursuance of this method—or these methods—much writing has been done, and the center of interest to which it has returned is a new study of the Life of Jesus. At the opening of the century the prevailing point of view was that which saw in his ministry and message a Messianic movement under the control of apocalyptic conceptions. This gradually shifted so that it was held that he was not himself under the control of apocalyptic ideas, but adapted his message and program to these conceptions because the conditions and thinking of his hearers demanded it. Now at the end of the period we have the insistence that all messianic interpretation of the ministry of Jesus is a reading back into his own day of the ideas and interpretations of the Early Church in the decades following his ministry and death. Jesus himself was a prophetic figure of singular clearness of vision and simplicity of

[22] See esp. Willoughby, ut supra.

spirit who sought to bring his own contemporaries into sincere and worthy devotion to the religious ideals and heritage of his Jewish community. But all thinking of him as Messiah, Lord, Son of God, etc., is simply the social creation of the Christian communities and leaders of his day. This construction of theirs proceeded under the inspiration and suggestion of the religious groups and conceptions by which they were surrounded, and are mostly of Gentile incubation.

In closing let me present two general considerations: One is reminded of the statement of Dean Shailer Mathews, several years ago, that judging from the opinion of some scholars, all ancient peoples had creative minds except the Hebrews. That Christianity adapted itself, in its work of preaching and teaching, to the conditions, points of view, and special problems by which it was confronted is abundantly clear. But that it was something in the mind and life of its teachers and preachers before and independent of its environment and social setting, is also just as manifest. No one can get any adequate understanding of the meaning and message of Christianity merely by studying the influences at work in the Roman Empire outside of Christianity and Christian churches and teachers. "We have asked some questions of history that should have been asked of psychology" (E. F. Scott), and if we are to get any true conception of Christianity it must be studied on the inside. It must be observed and explained as it is at work in the life of those who felt themselves as Christians and Christian teachers to be separate from and in considerable measure segregated from the life and religious thinking of their day. They thought and felt themselves to have something which only they as Christians possessed. It had not come to them from without but was their heritage by an unbroken line of tradition and life from a distinct and distinctly significant source. Christianity had a genius of its own, and both those who were Christians and those who were not not only recognized but emphasized this fact. Christian teachers went out with a sense of possession,

not of deprivation. It is simply unscientific to decline to recognize today this inner fact and force. The study of all other influences at work in the Moslem world except Islam itself will never lead to any understanding of Mohammedanism. The study of all facts and forces at work in the world in which Christianity arose, and the suppression of all differential facts in Christianity itself will never give any true understanding of it. It must be studied and interpreted from within as well as from without, or what we get is just not any conception of Christianity at all.

In the second place, it is the absolutely uniform testimony of early Christian tradition, both direct and indirect, that that which they had received had come to them not merely as a collection of alien or unrelated thoughts, but as the living, developing stream of life which had its source in one very definite and very unique personality. Through personal contact with him and with those who knew him a new life had entered their souls. That which they saw and knew in him, they saw and knew in none other. What others struggled to find—and unsuccessfully—that they had found in him. What others yearned for uncertainly and unconvinced, they were assured had come to them in him. From the earliest preaching in Acts to the latest interpretation in John (or 2 Peter) they were called "by his own glory and virtue," and they found peace and life in him. Whatever one may say about it, or however one may interpret it, we have here a fact, a certain, indisputable fact, and it looms large before us. To ignore this fact is simply to shut one's eyes very tight, and to close in one's own face the very door and the only door through which one must pass on the way to find the truth. Jesus is a fact, a creative fact. Early Christian experience is a fact, a vital fact, and both demand explanation, whether we will or no, on the terms of their own proposing, as well as in the light of social environment, the influence of which can never be ignored.

All interpretive information is heartily welcome, but they

who would interpret the facts by denying them, are looking in the wrong direction.

At the end of this twenty-five year period, there is a New Testament, and it is a new New Testament; it has vindicated its place in history, and behind it and expressed through it are the life that abides and the power that overcomes.

A PHILOSOPHY OF CONTROL

GUY N. HARTMAN

THERE is perhaps no problem today receiving more attention and provoking more criticism than that of control. The pessimists are lamenting that the "good old days" of external and formal control have passed. They are pointing out the depravity of our boys and girls, and how they disregard all the old safeguards of a generation ago. On the other hand, some, in a more optimistic mood, are hailing the revolt of youth. They point the finger of scorn at the old standards, as the more pessimistic point a like finger of scorn at the new. But neither of these groups adequately explain what is going on. True enough, youth is without guiding authority, but not so much because it has revolted from authority, as because our modern life has made inadequate the traditional type. They have merely outgrown the external kind, and, as yet, have not established an internal. We should say that we are really without any kind of control rather than that we have authority and youth has rebelled against it. We are wavering between the outgrown and the unborn.

Removing or changing from a present control before another has been established is endangering the character of all involved. We rail at youth for their apparent disregard of all standards of behavior. We forget that the whole world has been brought to our very doors. The world is a thousand times smaller today from the standpoint of contact than in the days of a previous generation. Our parents of the former generations boast that they were not nearly so bad as the children of today. If such is the truth, it may be because they did not have the opportunities to be so bad. All the great cities have been brought close by swift means of travel and swifter means of current news and enlightenment; and with this change has come the evil, as well as the good, of distant cities. Our

environment is no longer largely a physical one corralled by the boundary-lines of the estates and tenanted area in which folks live. In another sense we now live in a larger world. In the earlier days the child's environment was made up of the family circle and of a few neighboring friends of like tastes and ideals. The parents and teachers of those concentrated days and more concentrated and undifferentiated influences can well boast of how they, by direct fiat of external authority, demanded rigid obedience to their wishes and demands.

But we must remember that both freedom and authority function as coordinate parts of the same general process. Widen the sphere of activity, and we likewise widen the sphere and extent of both freedom and control. Authority likewise must be widened in its scope. We need therefore the newer type of authority to cope with the present enlarged life. We are not affirming nor condemning those who lived under the old régime, nor are we saying that one age is better or worse than another. We are simply pleading for common sense in our use of types of authority, so that they will be adequate to meet the problems of youth. The old fence of overt authority was good and sufficient when our boys and girls lived their lives within the small environment of family and neighbors' homes. But rigid authority of an external nature has no intrinsic value when our boys and girls are living their lives in the great onmoving world, most of which is beyond the sacred bounds of paternal and school environment. We must have a type of authority that will reach as far beyond their physical limitations as the influences of the outer world radiate within them. The radio brings influences and inspirations from the farthermost parts of the earth. Should we then dare to be satisfied with an authority that reaches one unit less far? Any kind of authority or control that fails to be an ever-present and integral part of the individual cannot be a defensible one from any point of view.

The student government movement in our schools is an

expression of the fact that something more than external authority is needed for school and civic responsibility. The school realizes that its overt control cannot hope to go beyond the bounds of the school. School people are conscious that their pupils must and will go beyond the school's boundaries. Therefore, should not the control and influence of the school go beyond? And if she, as an institution, is to fulfil her mission, she must silently, but none the less effectively, go as far and be ever present with those who journey from her. Since impulse and desire arise from within, stimulated no doubt from without, must not the guiding hand of destiny be integrated in the very being of the pupils? Must not authority and control be part and parcel of their culture, intelligence, and character at all times and places, if it is to be an adequate safeguard of their destiny? If men were material beings, then external control and imperialistic attitudes would not only work, but would also warrant that we deal with human personalities as though they neither grew, nor had any part in their own safety and progress. To insist on pure external control is to assume that man is irresponsible for his actions. Is it any wonder that youth have not been feeling responsible for their own acts? As soon as they are out of the sight of parents and teachers, they feel under no constraint to do the right. It is, in effect, the same idea as that of local gods who in foreign lands had no power. It is like the magic hood of little Red Riding Hood—no cap, no protection.

We plead then that control must be inherent in the controlled thing itself. If this is not true, then we are engaged in a dangerous business. For why sharpen the axe and not connect it with the handle? And if axe and handle are connected, we have the tremendous danger of its being in the hands of one who has power to use it, but not the guiding power to control or even appreciate its use and its dangers. Furthermore, there is an immense waste in training the mind apart from its function as an element of control. Purely mechanical develop-

ment is an attack upon unit personality. It is pigeonholing our personality into compartments—saying to the hands, "Do this," and to the feet, "Go there," as though they could go without the rest of the body. Instead of unifying and protecting our boys and girls by a control from within, resulting from intellect functioning as a sacred guarding of their own interests, we are setting firebrands loose among our youth—temptations on every hand and no adequate means of defense. Our supposed education has not been made a united and related part of control. We have created but have not protected and safeguarded.

If our education were on a basis of positive achievement, experience would be the means of advancement and the criterion of our progress. Then youth would develop in protective and efficient control of their own being when brought to the "cross" of their own struggle. "Except I go away, you cannot receive the comforter," has not gotten beneath our skin as a fundamental law of human progress. In this dramatic sentence we have the philosophy of the most modern social theory. All acts are both social and individual at the same time. The acts of the Galilæan were individual to him but to others social. His social contacts became motives for individual conduct and control as soon as he departed from them. These acts are multiple and individual at the same time. At this point is brought to view a great challenge to every teacher. The child's mind, as well as his conduct, are social in origin. Both mind and conduct therefore are products of social and individual interaction. Indeed they are sorts of by-products. You can't teach conduct or control of mind. It comes as a result of activity. Experience is the means and not the cause of control. Control is relative. Harmonious relationship and functioning of individuals and society will demand no control. The thing we call control is really the opposite of what we want. The only one in need of control is the one out of bound —out of harmony. And the finer the character, the easier to

get out of tune. The finer the radio, the more sensitive the mechanism to static. One acquires this very gradually. Indeed it is a life affair. Emphasizing these features helps emphasize the teacher's continuous responsibility for better self-control, both in the teacher and the child.

We have been acting the opposite. We, as teachers, are afraid to leave ourselves out of youth's control, for fear the child will develop a defensible type of control in his own behalf. And when success in that control would come to the only one in the world by whom it was exercised, there is a fear that credit would not revert to the one wishing for more worlds of human personality to conquer. We are spending millions in dollars and giving the energy of noble men and women to put across a traditional type of education. This enormous amount of energy in money and material values on the one hand, and human lives on the other, well meant but wrongly directed, is spent to develop an intellectual rascal or automaton capable of tremendous power to do, but having no adequate control as to what or how or where to react. We have put weapons of destruction into the hands of children. We have equipped youth with tremendous possibilities of doing good or evil. Those tremendous possibilities should function as coordinated parts of both the power and the control of personality. We are prone to blame the child for its failures, and yet we have never seriously attempted to make the child a free moral agent. How can he be responsible for his acts? Even in his failures, he is, many times, acting more wisely than we have done in guarding him against them. We have utterly failed to live up to and to carry over, in practise, the conviction that with opportunity goes responsibility. This is true with the teacher as well as with the pupil. If the child is the center of our endeavor, then let us make him the center of his own experience and not merely inflict upon him what we count dear to ourselves, which is the constant temptation of the teacher.

The sacred right of free moral agents is the right to arrive

at their own destiny, determined by their personal experience, guided, to be sure, by the personally perceived social consequences of their acts. They may be helped in the process by wise teachers, esteemed friends, and hallowed influences, but not by ready-made concepts given in sugar-coated capsules filled with traditional sacriosities of human invention. Our boys are not machines to be fed ideas and concepts as we put corn and tomatoes into the hopper and take out canned goods. Corn and beans are canned to keep them in a dormant state; but they never do any one any good until they are taken into one's system and assimilated and made a part of a physical mechanism. Likewise, no ideal can be called good nor is it of any value until it is experienced, assimilated, and made a part of human personality. Once assimilated, it cannot by any means whatever be separated from the being in which it exists. It has lost its identity and has become a part of a new unit personality of the creator's handiwork. Every time that personality is affected or tempted, it must play its humble but jealous part in protection and poise. The creator and the created have become one, and who dares to think that there can be any conflict, or that the creator will fail the created in times of struggle? Desire then becomes a coordinated part of control and vice versa. For how can the creator be untrue to the created? To be sure each created pattern or *Gestalt* is a new one and the resultant of many contributing forces, but philosophically how can a thing be untrue to itself? It is self-preservation from a moral standpoint.

There is no experience in a phonographic reproduction of information of any kind; neither is there any life. Each being carries within him his Creator's stamp. Then why should we insist upon placing on him our insignia and not allow and help him to develop the most sacred and only valuable thing he will ever possess in this world—his own personality. Education is not a process of pouring in or of filling up. It is a process of growth and development; not a method of extension and apart-

ment-house enlargement, but an honest-to-goodness growth in nature's master way from within outward.

The greatest of all teachers said that it is not what goes into the body that defiles it, but what goes out from it. In personality, as in geometry, the corollary is just as true as the main proposition. It is not what comes from the outside that determines the character of men, but what is expressed by the individual himself. That makes him an actual functional and defensive individual. It is not the physical mother that is sacred and acts as a controlling force within us, but it is fond memories of rich experience in our own lives that make sacred and sensitive that undefinable force called conscience. And when we get that only real defensible type of control, conscience ceases to be a separate part of personality and becomes identical with all that conscience was ever supposed to mean. Conscience does not belong to us. It is our self. Conscience itself becomes a growing and functioning process in human life. This does not destroy the responsibility of teachers because they cannot wash their hands of all responsibility for the directing and conserving power of those whom they teach, and put the blame or cause of failure on the intangible conscience. Every teacher, whether he teaches mathematics or science, becomes equally responsible with those who teach a supposedly more religious subject. All truth is sacred. All activity must give an account of itself. There is no shifting of responsibility. There is no true teaching without equal responsibility, whether in the laboratory or from the sacred desk.

Here is one of the most productive fields of human endeavor. There is no such thing as honesty apart from men and things. There is no such thing as virtue except in terms of relationship. We cannot even think of these fundamental traits except we think in terms of relationship. Much less can we hope to teach functional concepts apart from experienced relationships. We need to learn that this is as true in the field of religion as in the field of education. Long enough have we

tried to separate them. Failure is the result so long as we foolishly, even though devotedly, try it. Man is a unit functional being. We cannot affect any part of his being except as we have affected all. The moral, intellectual, and physical are interrelated and interfunctional in their expression of life and activity. The greatest discovery of any age is the discovery of mankind. How can mankind be discovered until each man is aided in discovering himself? We spend millions to discover material inventions and solutions, but the traditions of the ages are good enough for man. We are paradoxically entertaining ourselves, spending millions that we may discover old cities, to find out what ancient civilizations thought about God, forgetting that such findings can at best be only verbal attempts to tell of others' discovery of God. We do not mean to make light of getting this information, or hint even that it is of no value. All history is valuable. But interest in and struggle with present and daily problems is the way in which every man has found God. Finding God and self is a personal experience. The Kingdom of God and of Self is within. Men have dared to find God in churches and creeds of man's inventions. These are valuable as a means to an end, but never can they be an end in themselves. The Sacred Book itself is a description of how men found God. Jesus himself came as an illustration and a means of finding God, and not as an end in himself. He was continually reminding men, " I am the way, the truth, and the life." His way was self-sacrifice and inward struggle, functioning as a guide of his own life.

The clergyman laughs at the educator and the educator at the clergyman for being so stupid, yet both institutions which these represent are too often being used as an end in themselves rather than as a means to an end. The end is a responsible functioning personality, discovering both himself and his purpose in the world. We cannot discover self except we discover our purpose, for both are so interrelated that we cannot find one without the other. Desire and purpose are predetermined

by ability and skill to do. We like to do the thing we are experts in doing. And in order that we do not become purely materialistic in our skill, we must relate our skill of things to a skill of enduring relationship. The knowledge of locks and safes may make men criminals, but it makes a Houdini a master of his age. Control must be both a result and a function of experience, as is knowledge itself.

We have been created for the future and not the future for us. It is ours to leave our shell by life's unresting sea and cry, "Ahoy!" to those whose lives will be projected beyond ours. If happiness is in wanting what we possess and not possessing what we want, then each and every man will find not only his greatest happiness but also his greatest progress and finest achievement in his right to possess his possessions—chief of which is his own self. How can man be antagonistic or careless of that which he has builded and piloted? The goal of human progress is the individual discovery of a self-controlled personality. All else is but a means to this desired end.

Some leaders are exasperated because in life and aims we have a continuous change of goals and aims. The greatest of all blessings is that our standards are not static, for that means stagnation. But in childhood and in human personalities we can have no limits. The only limit is the measure of our zeal and vision. Furthermore, from our view of control, the static and material or physical form of control means limitations. A police-controlled town or individual is under discipline only so long as the town or individual can see the policeman. As soon as the policeman is out of sight, the individual assumes freedom from constraint. We have been giving boys and girls this police type of authority and control so much that we have no control over them at all when they are out of our sight. Since we have been using this type of control, how can we expect any controlling power to function when out of sight? We cannot transport external authority unless we transport the whole environment. When they most need control they do not

have it. They are not likely to be much tempted while in our presence and that is about the only time our authority functions.

This materialistic and limited type of control is a hang-over of our old faculty psychology, in which we believed each part of our being to be separate and apart from the others—in a functional way at least. Separating the center of control from the being or personality to be controlled is the most dangerous piece of work in which we can possibly engage. We have sharpened the intellect and have not done anything toward relating it to the control and guidance of human life. We have strayed away from the Great Teacher's fundamental concept of authority—"The Kingdom of God lieth within you." If the kingdom of self is within, then does not human experience of natural kingdoms tell us that it is a dangerous thing to have a non-resident king? Much more sensible is it to insist that the kingdom of our daily lives be ruled with a king resident within our own being. The challenge of moral and human progress is the conviction of moral responsibility visioned in "The Kingdom of God is within you." To put control any place except with the individual connotes criminality or primitive methods. Never can we defend ourselves in the use of criminal methods in the pretense of developing self-governing moral agents. Criminal methods are merely those of prevention instead of those of guidance. Ours must be the method and philosophy of life that presupposes free moral agents capable of inward control, and mature consideration of every life situation to which one's daily walk may bring him.

Conformity to custom and formal standards is not morality. Conscience itself cannot insure morality, for it must be trained and developed coextensive with life. What we see in anything is largely a reflection of ourselves. We must be true to self; this is the first principle of moral conduct. Secondly, we must be true to our fellow men. Our ethics must not be those of statute laws. Each one must be keen to discover his responsibility to self and to others. This involves a con-

tinuous struggle to discover the controlling forces day after day. Men must become artists of the moral life in new adventures for truth. Every great event must be interpreted by experience. The final touchstone of truth is the inner witness of human personality. "We learn to do by doing" is as true of control, and guidance as of any other type of learning. External authority imposes the law of diminishing returns, so far as developing free moral agents is concerned.

This approach to this crucial problem of control quite radically differs from the old in point of view. It is a question of changing pilots—going from a foreign external one to an internal guiding power, functioning as an interrelated part of the being to be controlled. The pilot of the old was external authority. The highest aim under this pilot was blind obedience to external control, making man a mere push-button machine. The point of view sought in this paper is that of control by inward authority. It assumes that man is a free moral agent who is responsible for his own conduct. In it man becomes a copartner with society in determining his own destiny. The result will be a faithful endeavor to build a sustaining life. It is making man a codesigner and architect of his own character. Self-interest in and self-discipline of one's conduct will naturally follow, for how can the builder be careless of his own achievement? It is the only way that we can be certain that each individual will grow in full appreciation of, and conscious responsibility for, his own development. The individual thus functions as a self-controlled unit of society. Each person will feel responsible for the safekeeping and progressive development of that which he has helped to create. Control becomes coextensive with life. It does this and one thing more. It gives each individual a chance to be true to his own inmost being, because he is free to act under his own authority, conscious of society's demands that he give account of his own acts. Man's own experience becomes a creative force in earnest and faithful living. He can meaningfully say:

It matters not how straight the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll;
I am the master of my fate
I am the captain of my soul.

This leads to the final thought of our paper. Morality and conduct are dependent upon self-discipline and self-sacrifice. These are active and not passive expressions of life. The intrinsic value of all enduring activity is that it is creative. Here lies the secret of men of stalwart character and enduring personality. They have had to work hard to make their way in the world. Daily they had to take new attitudes and make new determinations to meet the needs of the hour. They did things with their own hands and minds. They developed clear concepts of the factors that were related to their daily tasks. A temptation was a challenge to them to meet it. Necessary equipment was not gotten in the storeroom ready made, but had to be designed and constructed to suit the situation. By so doing, they developed confidence themselves. This knowledge of things and abiding faith in self developed into enduring satisfactions. The value of this kind of control, or discipline, is not only in the fact that it brings a creative attitude to meet the crises of life, but also in that it has inherent in it a challenge to form higher standards, and to live up to them. They have developed a personality living above fraud and deceit and the baser things of life. The whole process constitutes a challenge to the moral as well as to the physical strength of the individual to meet the needs and temptations of the hour. To accomplish this, we shall have to begin with the child, and not wait until his life is established on an external control basis. As we create power, why not create control of that power? Unless we do this, men as individuals will not accept responsibility for their failures, but will at once blame society. We should at least be consistent, for if society is to take the blame for the failures, then she should be credited with the success. In that case the individual simply becomes the tool of society.

CHINESE CONCEPTIONS OF IMMORTALITY

RAYMOND HIGHTOWER

ALMOST anything one writes about Chinese conceptions of immortality may readily be subjected to serious questioning. Up to the present, however, very little of a comparative nature has been presented by Western scholars upon the religio-philosophical products of the Chinese mind. Evidence exposes but a meager amount of exhibitory thinking on topics dealing with the eternal or the immortal. As a snap statement one may assert that, on the whole, the Chinese people do not concern themselves about immortality to any greater extent than do the Americans—and this is not saying a great deal.

This paper can scarcely do more than submit a sort of general impression which has registered itself on one person as a result of some interest in man's speculation on his soul and its future, while coupled to this is a desire to comprehend more of the Chinese characteristics. We cannot, at the present stage of Sinology, venture classifications or attempt categories. It is impossible to separate the various conceptions of immortality from each other. We must refrain from certain fine distinctions because of the lack of material; discrimination will be based, in the main, on the whims of the writer.

Various Chinese terms are employed to express the different conceptual ideas of the English word "soul." Some mean the soul present within the body, others the disembodied soul; still other ideographs apply to both. The word *hsing* is one of the first to attract the attention of the investigator. It was used by Confucius although he was too cautious to say much about it. He recognized the existence of the soul and of spirits; at the same time he would not discourse upon certain things concerning which he felt inadequately informed. As long as man remained in ignorance of the affairs of men how could he expect to learn anything of the gods or of the spiritual

world? Yet, it seems clear that Confucius was thoroughly convinced that man had a *hsing.* He believed that this spirit has been divinely bestowed upon man and " that there is a divinely ordained course which he ought to pursue, that men need to be taught what this course is, and that the wise among men must in all sincerity search out this course, personally follow it, and by this process to influence the mass of men to do the same." [1] The Way, *Tao,* Confucius tried to follow: it was straight and narrow, to travel upon it involved not only proper adjustments to the world of men but right relations to the realm of the spirits. It seems to have been a tenet of the Chinese from high antiquity till now that the dead in some manner manifest an interest in the affairs of the living. About a thousand years before Christ Chou Kung, a virtuous and influential duke, conformed his behavior to please his departed ancestors. Even in these modern times those Chinese who would walk in the light of an approved conscience along the path of *Tao* seek to order their lives in accordance with the supposed wishes of their ancestors. It was thus when the emperor as the Son of Heaven worshiped regularly at the Temple of Heaven; it has remained largely thus since the emperor has fled from his palace and the electrically lighted Temple of Heaven has become a court for the curious. The mass of the people continue to take cognizance of the spirits of the dead who make up an invisible Chinese Empire ruled over by Shang Ti, the Ruler of Heaven.

We may not be prepared to agree entirely with that group of Sinologues who maintain that the Chinese religion was originally animistic, but sufficient research has not been done to warrant the full acceptance of some other theory of religious origins. The casual observer will have it brought to his attention again and again that many of the present-day Chinese act as though they live in an animistic world. Viewed from the outside the religion of the millions of China may well seem

[1] W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China,* Oxford Press, 1923, p. 171.

to be predominantly a naturalistic animism. There is no doubt among the large majority of the people that their lives are compassed about by clouds of spirits. These spirits are souls. A recent writer says: [2]

> The distinction between soul and body is fundamental to Chinese thought. In sleep the soul is believed to leave the body temporarily, wander around, and seek the things that are experienced in dreams. It comes back immediately when the sleeper is awakened. In swoons the soul wanders farther from its body and has more difficulty in finding its way back. The relatives then wave a garment on a bamboo pole on the house-top and beat a gong to attract attention of the errant soul and help it to get its bearings. If the swoon persists, still more strenuous efforts are made to call the spirit back; and in case of death, the shouting is not given up until it is certain that all efforts are useless. An absent spirit of a living man may appear as a phantom to another person, or even to himself! and such an apparition is regarded as an omen of impending death. The soul which can survive a temporary separation from its body can also survive the permanent separation of death. This is asserted repeatedly in the Confucian literature and is implied in the activity of spirits of the dead and in the worship of the dead.

We see that the ideograph *hsing* is composed of two parts: *hsin* meaning "heart," and *sheng* meaning "life," or "to beget life." The *hsing* of a man may mean his nature, disposition, or character. Seldom is this word used to refer to disembodied soul. The more common words for spirit, or soul, as distinguished from body, are *kuei* and *shen.* The former of the two is often heard in common speech; it is probably an older word than *shen.* Whereas both words frequently refer to spirits in general if there is a wish to distinguish between the good spirits and the evil ones, *shen* is the good. *Shen kuei* is translated "spirits and devils." A belittling expression for foreigners in China is *kuei tzu,* that is, "children of the devils." *Shen* would never be used in this connection. If the two terms are reversed so as to make *kuei shen* we have the Confucian phrase for the spirits of the dead.

[2] L. B. Paton, *Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity,* Macmillan, 1921, pp. 17, 18.

These two words must be ancient. Other words of more recent coinage are utilized both in literature and in the vernacular. *Hwun* is one such, *ling* is another. In the preaching of the Christian doctrine the two terms have been frequently joined together to mean "the soul," the latter term conveying the idea of a certain ethereal intelligence. In addition to meaning "breath" or "air" the word *ch'i* may mean "spirit" or "soul." In the west we sometimes think of the soul as being intimately related to the breath. *P'o* has a material connotation and is more correctly employed to mean the animal soul rather than the human. *Ming* is rendered as "clear" or "bright." As a noun it may be "essence" or "soul" in contrast to the apparent.

Whatever word the Chinese chooses to reveal his conception of the soul is likely to be associated with the *yang* principle. It was late in the history of Chinese philosophy when the soul was divided into the *yang* and the *yin* parts. Where there has been this partitioning the *yin* part has been gradually sloughed off as being of the earth and the *yang* part alone conceived as existing after death. Before the coming of the modern Chinese sceptics it would have been very difficult to have picked a Chinese who would have seriously argued that the soul did not exist after the death of the body. It seems not to have been an important philosophic question. However, we shall do well to be cautious in evaluating past and present reluctance to propound theories bearing on the continued existence of the soul after death. Silence is not always a trustworthy witness.

Dividing the religion of the Chinese into three systems is in many respects an unfortunate procedure. For the average native no clear-cut lines of differentiation exist. Yet there is something logical about the triple division that has appealed to the Oriental scholar as well as to the Occidental. For the sake of mental clarity we still speak of "the three religions of China."

Confucianism is the coat of many colors with which China has been cloaked. Looked at from one angle the religious hue is dominant. As this aspect of religion has developed it has come to include ancestor-worship combined with nature-worship. In this system certainly " heaven " and *Shang Ti* have a permanence that is immortal. Before the collapse of the Empire the emperor alone was privileged with worshiping *Shang Ti.* His subjects worshiped their ancestors. In recent years the ordinary individual, though having considerable difficulty in determining who rules over him, has not banished his reverence for the spirits of his ancestors. Several generations of tablets are kept in the household. A small minority of the so-called emancipated may look upon them as harmless memorials reserved as stimuli to the memory; the majority still kotow before them and place joss-sticks, candles, and food in front of them on such occasions as ancient custom dictates. To the observer such performances indicate a belief that the fathers have not been entirely annihilated. But let him also note that only those tablets of the nearest few generations are of any particular merit in the household. The newer tablets of the recent dead replace those of several generations past. The old tablets are sometimes taken to the ancestral temples, most often they are gathered and burned. When obligations have been fulfilled the souls of ancestors are permitted to go their way; if they will refrain from interfering with the affairs of men it is not likely that they will be disturbed. There does not appear a general opinion that the souls themselves die after a time, although there is a tendency to think this among some groups—even of the student class. It is enough that they become " daimons " and live on in the spirit way, some taking possession of other bodies, some inhabiting inanimate objects, some remaining in the air or becoming incarnated in animals.

Confucianism has little to offer in the line of explaining the condition of the soul after death. It is illogical for man to think that he can know anything about the life of the de-

parted. If he succeeds in simply maintaining right relations with the unseen he is happy. Let him always regulate his life according to *li*. For the Confucianist departed spirits live as inhabitants of another kingdom. The contacts with them are of a diplomatic nature. It is not in accord with *li* for a man to entertain a desire to transfer his citizenship from this realm to that. It would never occur to a thoroughgoing Confucianist to seek death in order to move into a country where there is no death. For, after all, it is only the *kuei* or *shen* of one that can possibly make the transfer. So, one of the three things most desired is not immortality but long life on this earth. The souls of men are immortal but what of it? They live in a world apart. Of course a person may hope to retain a relation with this world after death by having sons to worship him. At the most the "future life" is but a second best. On the whole we may say that Confucianism does not lend itself to contemplative beliefs on immortality.

When we turn to a consideration of the Taoistic cult we find a good deal of interest in immortality. This religion very early departed from the practical habits of its reputed founder, Lao-tzu. Ever since the days of Chuang-tzu—fourth century B. C.—Taoism has consumed much of its energy excursioning into the land of fairies and of imps. The sincere Taoist votary encounters spirits on every hand. Witchcraft and wizardy, spirit-possession and demon-expulsion fill the cup of his life until it runs over. Soothill writes:[3]

> Not only do the Taoists believe that the soul may live after the death of the body, but from the earliest times they have believed in deathlessness or translation, that both body and soul may be translated to the realms of the immortals. Like Enoch and Moses they may depart and never be seen again, or like Elijah they may be taken up in a chariot of light. Some of them seem to suggest that the soul will be absorbed in the ultimate ether, lost in the Absolute, like water running to the ocean. But such is not the general conception, for we find the immortals clearly represented in pictorial form as alive, old, bearded men and gentle-faced women,

[3] Soothill, op. cit., p. 177, 178.

dressed in the ancient Chinese garb, perhaps playing a game of chess, or some other pleasant pursuit of the immortals. . . For two thousand or more years the Taoists have been searching for the elixir of immortality. Some are said to have found the magic herbs of which it is composed, and, after partaking, to have been translated to the region of the blest. Several emperors have suddenly ended their reigns after partaking of these potions.

For the most part the best elements of Taoism have been submerged in fanciful imaginings of minds given to exaggeration. On the other hand, the more educated of the Taoist priests believe in a supreme being who can be apprehended by purifying the soul and getting rid of the wickedness of the heart. The attainment of this end may be aided by living a celibate life, refraining from the use of meat, wine, and tobacco. The current Taoist conception of the future life is not very different from that of the Buddhists. When one priest was asked whether he was afraid of going to hell he replied:[4] "I cannot be sure of avoiding hell. To be certain of reaching heaven would not be wise." If you should meet an ardent protagonist of Taoism and should propound the question, "If a man dies shall he live again?" when he understood your query the chances are that he would reply, "He will live again." Taoism has endowed China with some hope of a future life of bliss entered into through the doors of virtue and self-abnegation. It is unfortunate that it has fallen into numerous vague and superstitious practices.

Mahayana Buddhism entered China as a foreign religion; it has become indigenous. Its teaching on the subject of immortality is not always distinguishable from the Taoist teaching. Yet before it came into eastern Asia there was scarcely a popular idea of life after death. Only the priests and the mystics had hope of more than a gloomy mysterious transference at the end of earthly life. The "western paradise" was limited to the "very religious"; the masses were ignored.

[4] F. W. S. O'Neill, *The Quest for God in China*, London, 1925, p. 34.

Buddhism teaches heaven and hell for all. In these days the ideas of immortality of the trained Buddhists and of the trained Taoists are almost the same. But Buddhism has missionary aspects that have been lacking among the Taoists. The Buddhists have taught their doctrines both by speech and the written words of their sacred literature. More than that, they have built temples, pagodas, and monasteries up and down the land. They have societies organized for propaganda. Frescoed into their temple walls are terrifying representations of purgatorial courts. Large hanging scrolls vividly portray the tortures administered to culprits in Buddhistic hells. A Buddhist funeral intends to conduct the soul of the dead through purgatory. Seven seven-day periods elapse before the performance is considered complete. It may cost the relatives of the deceased several thousand dollars. Furthermore, every community has its own general services at rather definite intervals for the benefit of souls before the purgatorial judgment bar.

In sections of the south the *Puo Do* is one such institution. It is an extremely elaborate celebration for the sake of the "miserable dead." On the occasion of such, prayers are offered at each of the especially prepared altars for the various classes of neglected spirits suffering in Buddhist hells. The community feels responsible for the departed who have no descendants able to pay for the proper funerals and sacrifices. And if it fails in shouldering this responsibility the tormented spirits may return and haunt the whole village or city. The temples, ancestral halls, and the more pretentious houses are brilliantly lighted and richly decorated with articles of jade, porcelain, silver, and brass. Extravagant golden stranded altar cloths are hung about platforms and walls to convert each of the chosen buildings into a center of worship. Priests chant prayers, and members of the literati volunteer orchestral music of an appropriate nature. As many as forty altars may be erected in as many houses where worship is conducted for several days and nights. Food offerings are placed before

them. Priests and people exercise religious rites in behalf of beggars, lepers, and other unfortunate departed souls on trial in one of the ten courts of Buddhist purgatory or agonizing in one of the surrounding hells.

The Buddhists also have a heaven over which reigns Amitabha. He is one of the thousand Buddhas. From the "Amitabha Vuha Sutra" we can get a glimpse of how this Pure Land is conceived:[5]

> In the western region beyond one hundred thousand myriads of Buddhist land there is a world, Great Happiness by name. This land has a Buddha called Amitabha. The living beings there do not suffer any pain, but enjoy all happiness. Therefore, it is called the land of Pure Delight . . . the land of Pure Delight has seven precious fountains full of water containing the eight virtues. The bottom of these fountains is covered with golden sand. On four sides there are steps made of gold, silver, crystal, and glass, precious stones, red pearls, and highly polished agates. In the pools are variously colored, light-emitting lotus flowers as large as cart-wheels, delicate, admirable, odorous, and pure. . .

Concerning those who enter this land the Sutra says:

> All living beings who hear this should make a vow to be born in that land. How can they reach the Pure Land? All very good men will gather in that place. . . He whose blessedness and virtue are great can be born into that country. If there is a good man or woman who, on hearing of Amitabha, takes his name and holds it in his mind one, two, three, four, five, six, or seven days, and his whole heart is not distracted, to that man at death Amitabha will appear. His heart will not be disturbed. He will at once enter into life in the Land of Pure Delight of Amitabha. I see this blessing and hence utter these words. Those living beings who hear these words should make a vow to be born in that land.

After we have discussed the ideas of immortality of each of the principal religions of China it is still a valid question to ask to what extent these are the ideas of the people as a whole. There seems to be no one able to do more than guess what the common people of China think of immortality. However,

[5] See L. Hodous, *Buddhism and Buddhists in China*, New York, 1924, chap. VII.

there have been a few small-scale efforts to understand the religious ideas and practises of the masses. One attempt was made in 1921-22 by Mr. Albert G. Parker. While his sampling was too small to justify conclusions his findings are suggestive. Chinese and American friends in ten of the eighteen provinces interviewed non-Christian persons in the leading occupations and returned 83 completely filled out questionnaires. A part of the resultant tabulation is entered below: [6]

Do men have a soul as well as a body and min

Seventy-two per cent. say that men have; fourteen per cent., that they have not. Others do not know. Probably some of those who said that men do not have souls, meant that the soul, not being visible, is not so real as the body, for over a dozen people remarked that the soul is less real than the body and mind. Several remarked that man has three souls.

When a man dies does his soul continue to live?

Seventy-two per cent. say that it does; thirteen per cent., that it does not; others do not know. One man said that bad men's souls perish at death. This saying was quoted: "Dead! Dead! When a man dies his soul dies too."

Will it always continue to live?

Forty-six per cent. say that it will; twenty per cent., that it will not; seventeen per cent., that they do not know. Sixteen per cent. say that the souls of good men only will live forever.

Where are the souls of your ancestors?

Thirty-six per cent. do not know; eighteen per cent. say that they are in Hades or hell; nine per cent., that they are in heaven; seven per cent., that they are in the world of spirits. Others say, "in the opposite world," "in the ancestral temple," "in the home," "in the grave," "in the air," "transmigrating," and "extinguished."

Do the souls of dead men ever punish living people?

Sixty-six per cent. say that they do; eighteen per cent., that they do not. Twelve per cent. do not know. Fifteen remarked that a soul seeking vengeance punishes living people. One man said that it is necessary to get permission from the principal god before a soul can punish a man.

[6] Taken from the concluding article on *A Study of the Religious Beliefs and Practises of the Common People of China*, by A. G. Parker, in *The Chinese Recorder*, September, 1922, p. 379ff.

This material is submitted not in order to justify a position. We have more than enough prejudiced notions from which we adjudge our fellows by the ideas they are supposed to have formulated. We should be careful not to try to push the conceptions of immortality and the future life of the Chinese people of today all the way into the logical categories of the " Three Religions." It would seem that the following should be borne in mind:

1. There is confused thinking among the bulk of the people concerning immortality. A large element, no doubt, has given almost no consideration to the subject. Experience teaches us that many problems of the intelligentsia are not conscious ones for those who spend their days at customary occupations. Moreover, where there is variation in dialect and in environment, where culture strains of great geographical and temporal extensiveness have entered a land, we should be surprised to find a belief that might be called *the belief*.

2. It is true of China that the priestly utterances of the ages are not the stable vehicles of present-day practises. Innumerable unsolicited factors intrude themselves upon the person of every Chinese. When he speaks on religion it may be a sign of attempted adaptation rather than one of conscious conviction. When he participates in the ceremony for the dead he knows what he is about. But it takes a wise person to interpret the beliefs of the man on immortal living on the basis of his customary performances.

3. There is always the danger of overemphasizing a few odd stories and incidents that come under the glance of the passer-by. For example, one may see people of all classes bowing before pictures of Sun Yat-sen. Does this mean that there is a wide-spread worship of Sun Yat-sen? And is his spirit resident in the photos that hang from the walls of the humblest? Who can be sure what prompts a man to have a photo and bow before it? Some hold that a new religion is arising in China with Sun Yat-sen as its god. But being rev-

erent before his photographs is not a sure sign that he is deified. Although it is currently stated that he is immortalized that does not give us a certain clue as to the belief in immortality of the Chinese people.

Anecdotes and sailors' tales have failed to reveal the profound religious side of the life of the Chinese. Western superstition about their beliefs and cults have so dominated our evaluation of them that at this stage it is practically impossible either to classify their conceptions of immortality or to find out the limitations of a particular existent belief.

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

We are especially gratified to be able to present the article by Prof. Heinrich Hermelink, of Germany, an article secured by Doctor Cole of our Faculty while in Germany. Doctor Cole also had promise of a paper by Rudolph Otto, author of *The Idea of the Holy.* These are two of the outstanding scholars among German theologians. Professor Hermelink is among the first of the Church Historians and his paper is a fine example of keen analysis, and informing factors in the religion situation. There is also hope and promise of an article by Dr. Heinrich Frick, on a theological topic. He is one of the Herrman-Otto succession.

Henry Joel Cadbury, Ph. D., Harvard, Professor of Biblical Literature in Bryn Mawr College; onetime Professor of New Testament Criticism in Auburn Theological Seminary, later in The Theological School in Harvard University. He is author of *The Style and Literary Method of Luke, The Making of Luke, Acts, etc.,* and co-author with Kirsopp Lake in *The Beginnings of Christianity,* Vol. IV, in preparation. He is Secretary of The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

We call attention especially to the article "Empirical Theism" as a brief for a philosophy of religion worth more attention. Robert F. Davidson is a native of South Carolina. He was Rhodes Scholar from that State to Oxford University, receiving his degree there in the Honor School of Theology in 1928. Student in graduate work in Yale Divinity School the past year for Ph. D., he goes to the work as Professor in Department of Religion at Hiram College, Ohio.

A MOST interesting bit of modern history is presented to us by Joseph Novotny, Professor in the International Baptist Seminary at East Orange, N. J. He is a scholar whose attainments were noted formerly in the QUARTERLY.

THE article on " The New Science and Religion " is presented by Samuel H. Miller, now pastor of the Baptist church at Clifton, N. J. He is a graduate of the late Colgate Theological Seminary, 1923, and has served in the ministry at Belmar, N. J., and at Arlington in the same State. He is a contributor to *The Christian Century* and shows himself a keen student of the new science.

FROM the Pacific Coast comes an interesting paper by Professor J. W. Bailey, of the New Testament Department of the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School. Professor Bailey is an A. B., Franklin College, Ind., B. D. of Divinity School of University of Chicago, which institution also conferred the degree of Ph. D. He was pastor for ten years, College President in Iowa and Colorado for nine years, has published two volumes, and at present is at work on a commentary. We welcome him to our columns.

GUY N. HARTMAN, graduate of Crozer Seminary, has been engaged chiefly in educational work, after a brief pastorate in Pennsylvania. He has been Head of the English Department in High School, Supervising Principal at Garrett, Pa., and at present is in charge of the mathematics at Berlin, Pa., and member of Township Board of Education, meanwhile managing a large-sized dairy farm and acting as supply minister for local churches. His article on "A Philosophy of Control " has an experience back of it. Meanwhile he studies for a Ph. D. degree.

WE have an interesting paper by Raymond L. Hightower, of the Class of 1930 in our Seminary. It was presented as the

result of an intensive study in the doctrine of Immortality offered by the Editor. It is an unusual phase of the study and offered with confidence that it will interest many. Mr. Hightower was graduated with B. A. from University of Richmond in 1923; 1924-1927, teacher in Foochow College, Foochow, China, under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A. B. C. F. M.); B. D. from Crozer Theological Seminary in 1930; M. A. from University of Pennsylvania, 1930; holder of Teaching Scholarship in the Department of History of Christianity, 1930-1931.

EDITOR'S NOTES

SPENSER B. MEESER

Humanism and Religion

Humanism as a substitute for theism, and Humanism as a humanizing of our idea of God and a socializing of religion are quite discrete conceptions. Equally true is it that the substitution of social service for religious aspiration, for prayer, worship, and the cultivation of the sense of God and responsibility to him simply replaces the functioning of the soul's deepest activities, and truest we may say, with prudential deeds.

If Religion, the function of the inner life toward God, may be regarded as moral introversion, Humanism may likewise be regarded as the moral extraversion, since the soul's activities are abnormally concerned with the objective human good. Perhaps either alone is abnormal, and only the balance of the Godward and manward interest and activity can be said to be the sign of normal man. For if the religionist is in any sense a moral introvert, the humanist is a moral extravert. "No good religion would need humanism," some one has said. Religion is not good, complete, mature that is, which concerns man with God only. Long ago another said that it takes three to constitute religion—God, man, and his brother man; and thousands have so conceived religion and so practised it for decades; and some there have always been who so conceived it through the history of the Christian Church.

One often queries where propounders of substitutes for religion have spent their days and what groups of religionists they have observed. Humanism, in so far as it seeks to humanize God, as we may say, and teach men that *a* fundamental concern of religion is the right conduct of the present life, as concerns oneself and one's fellows, can put an emphasis

where it belongs and do much to correct "the otherworldliness" of some religious folk. But if that is what is meant by it there is nothing new about it but its name; and even that is a misuse of a term that has had and has still a definite historic meaning.

The theologian and the religionists in general would do well to be open-minded and responsive to such an emphasis, possibly more needed than some of us yet appreciate. But in a multitude of the advocates of Humanism that is not, apparently, their aim. They are what one aptly calls *theophobia* victims. The very idea of God is abhorrent to them, if by God is meant that Value which most men, philosophers and poets, as well as theists, have believed to be found only in a personal external Spirit. As such some might even wish freely to adopt it as a view of life which enthrones man, the highest we "know," as the object of worship; but we should as freely recognize that religion goes out with its incoming. When we shut God out we shut ourselves in—into narrow life even though we imagine we have enlarged our boundaries. There is more room in God, for the really free soul than in the whole universe besides.

God Has a Way of Coming Back

God has a way of coming back
  In judgment on our futile deeds,
When we dismiss Him from our world
  As lacking worth for human needs.

God has a way of coming back,
  And His right hand takes hold again,
When petulance has snarled our hearts,
  Or pride of mind has made us vain.

God has a way of coming back
  To light the mystic lamp of faith
Within the mind that bowed Him out,
  To seat some philosophic wraith.

God has a way of coming back
To fill the vacuum of hate,
When rude and rustic cynic's lore
Has made man's faith seem out of date.

God has a way of coming back,
As Shepherd for the sheep He lost,
When men though listening, no more hear
The Voice by lesser voices crossed.

God has a way of coming back,
But not with scathing, scornful jest,
When men return in pain or tears,
And disillusioned make their quest.

God has a way of coming back,
With patient love, forgiving mind:
Though we default, He faileth not,
And where we lost Him, we may find.

God has a way of coming back,
Indeed has never ceased to be
Just where we all, with vision cleared,
May truly feel and hear and see.

The Second Childhood of Theology

A recent lecturer, before a large group of Modernists in painting and sculpture, took as his topic for this most rabid school of Art, "The Second Childhood of Art." Needless to say the topic was resented by the artists. Nevertheless multitudes will thank the lecturer for this most apt and descriptive phrase as applied to most of what parades under this name. Its bad drawing, its flat masses seemingly done as a house-painter would cover surfaces, its bizarre portraiture of things, scenes, and human beings suggest the first efforts of little children to represent in drawing and color what, if it is as the child really sees or imagines it, must convince us that the child suffers from a visual distortion of everything beautiful and engaging. One recognizes in such modernism a renaissance

of the primitive, which ignores all the values of the geniuses of the past as they strove to foster the evolution of man's appreciation of the beautiful.

Some (notice *some*) modern theologies offer a like suggestion of second childhood. Here also, under the guise of fresh interpretation and modern metaphysics, we have the same utter disregard of the values achieved by the thinkers of the past and by the centuries of enduring Christian experiences. Here also the similar effort to achieve bizarre effects and *mirabile dictu* the renaissance of the primitive under the guise of the scientific. Here also a like effort at the age's self-expression which offers itself as *the* pattern of truth and reality, while denying this value to a former age's self-expression in its pattern.

The editor will scarcely be suspected of overconservative tendencies, perhaps, nor of indisposition to give heed to what may be called the newer interpretations of moral and religion truth. It is not that he clings to the expressions of the " faith of our fathers," or insists on the ancient creeds, some of which he utterly rejects.

The point is here and now that, in all the varied confessions of faith and the theologies of the past, is " a saving remnant," a residuum of value, more or less characteristic of them all, which represents a deposit of reality which it is not sane to ignore unless we no longer believe that truth is attainable and we have become incurable sceptics. This is what, as in Art, is ignored by these " some " modernists in theology.

There are some things that have been achieved, essential to religion and to the moral and spiritual life of man. To ignore these and to make the kind of new beginning which is utterly discontinuous with the past attainments of man is to build on air as a foundation. It violates the latest and most widely recognized principle of evolution which has abandoned any notion of discontinuity and affirms the principle of continuity. To ignore this is like trying to describe a circle with-

out a center, a centrifugal without a centripetal movement, an infinite hyperbole.

May we not hope for many patterns of truth and reality; but must we not be sure also that they are patterns full of the gold or iron of the Reality, and not simply an empty shape with a name, which is a distortion of the Reality.

Religion and Religious

Religion may be best conceived as the response of the whole soul of man to initiative Mystery which the man as a whole has convincingly "sensibilitized." Here may be a new word, but it is needed. The forms of the material world we say are "sensed," that is, we apprehend them through the senses. The reality represented by philosophy and logic are apprehended through the intellect, that is reasoned. But these two powers do not embrace all the knowledge we acquire through experience. There is other realty we apprehend through neither of these; for we have knowledge of values, personal relations, personalities, moral responsibilities none of which can adequately be apprehended by either the senses or the merely rational intellect. These realities, including "the Mystery," can only be "sensibilitized," that is, apprehended by the sensibilities in personal relations.

Old-time faculty psychology persists even among those who protest it most vigorously. Knowing is a function of the whole man. There is not only much we know, there is the most we know, which we apprehend not through some one power of our being to be differenced from other powers—intellect as opposed to will, or either as opposed to emotion; but through total of our psychic being, *our power as a whole.*

Analysis of the psyche has run amuck. A psychology which treats of man as he is, a whole organism, must pave the way for an epistemology that treats knowledge as a synthesis, the crowning capacity of personal being. And for this a word

is needed. " Sensibilitized " may be clumsy etymology, but the idea is not clumsy observation, nor without basis in the implications of philosophy.

Definitions of religion are a multitude, and any one of them is necessarily inadequate, if by definition we mean to circumscribe and so limit the experience and exhaust its content and significance. But a common characteristic of all its forms of manifestation is the sense of an initiative Mystery, working upon and within the life of men. This is often ignored when thinkers about religion attempt to analyze and define it, or it is denied by those who do not consider that God has anything to do with religion. Many theologians indeed relate the Mystery, God, only as the goal of religion and fail to regard him as the Source in any such manner as affects their theories.

This " sensibilitizing " of the Mystery and the response of the soul to this awareness of God is the elementary and genetic factor in all religion, its constituent and nature. After this, almost infinite variety of responses which characterize the religion world, cults and rituals. The varied forms these take, arise in the more or less imperfect or perfect conceptions of the nature and requirements of the Mystery, their rationalizations we may call them.

Here is the differencing principle in religions—what we conceive God to be, what we mean by God. This is the regulative idea in all the varying religion creeds and principles. But religion itself is always and everywhere " God working in you," initially His activity, and reciprocally man " working out his own salvation " because of it. There is no *false* religion. There are more or less imperfect religious cults, arising in the more or less imperfect conception of the Mystery. What we mean by God will determine the character and worth of our religion to ourselves and to our fellows. Religion is a divine-human energy, a theanthropic activity, in which God is source and initiator, and man is cooperator and worker.

For those who reject or repudiate the testimony of their sensibilities, the witness of life as a whole, who perhaps resent the very idea of God, or for those whose God is some vague philosophic wraith, what can religion mean?

Can Science Control Life?

Such is the title of an article by Lawrence Hyde, a young Englishman who served as Flying Officer during the war. He has published a very successful book, *The Learned Knife,* the first volume of a projected trilogy defending a religious and æsthetic attitude toward life against the claims of the sciences. The article appears in *The Atlantic Monthly* for September. His contention is highly interesting in view of the trend of the present-day to subordinate all attitudes to the scientific.

He recognizes that we are living in an age in which science has come into its own. In science the modern man puts his trust for the future of society. But while technically experts have achieved much we must not overlook the fact that it is on their integrity he and society are dependent for salvation. He, the science "fan," should make sure that the experts are doing their work efficiently.

Mr. Hyde questions this "efficiently." Fruitful in many respects in their work, many experts have "shown astonishing indifference to the assumptions on which their theorizing is based." Objective facts have diverted attention from principles. For instance, science confines itself to the measurable, yet in man it is his least measurable characteristics that are the most significant. Man as a measurable item of existence may be classed with other things, but in his significant characteristics he is unmeasurable and a mystery.

Sociology he finds especially open to this objection, but his criticism he shows applies with special force to psychology, the two quasi-sciences which most propose to control life. Each of these *pretends* he is being scientific when he extends his

observations to incommensurate factors in the life of man, immeasurable things of mind, soul, and will.

In psychology the expert must turn from " the plane of physical facts into the mysterious inner world of thought and feeling " an act of introspection or he cannot get at the facts. He is then in the qualitative, and out of the quantitative realm. He deals with a different type of facts from those of geology, physics, etc.

Furthermore much depends on the inner experience of the expert in these sciences. The roots of a man's thinking lie in the dark recesses of his own unexplored soul, and here crude and undisciplined desires may vitiate his conclusions.

Mr. Hyde is very bold in his challenge in this matter. In this insistence that the measurable is the significant we have a very definite descent to a materialistic plane. There is also a not altogether frank recognition of the personal equation in his conclusion by these scientists, an attempt " to minimize the connection between his status of mind and the conclusion at which he arrives regarding the nature of life. He will do anything rather than acknowledge that it is the psychology of the observer that is, in the last resort, the key to the whole situation." Mr. Hyde is exceeding bold, yet truthful, when he affirms that they do not " sufficiently appreciate the manner in which instinctive prejudice can express itself, not only in the treatment of ' facts ' when once they have been accumulated, but *in their very creation.* In a word, the most significant factor is the level on which the consciousness of the investigator is pitched."

How then may we make sure that the court of final appeal shall not be an object of suspicion? How otherwise than to insist on the purification of the self on which the religious teacher lays so much stress.

Mr. Hyde perhaps becomes accuser when finally he turns to his most serious criticism. He calls it a possibility, that " only too many workers in this field attempt to evade severe

demands which are being made on them by life" and that this type of thinkers are endeavoring to deal with life on unduly easy terms. As a matter of fact, however, the scientist will never be able to get around the fact that the most important data are discoverable only by the individual who has developed the potencies of his soul, a matter which demands painful self-discipline and a profound humbling of the spirit.

What will the sociologists and the psychologist reply—or will they ignore this vigorous challenge?

BOOK REVIEWS

CORRECTION

THE MANAGING EDITOR begs pardon of Harper and Brothers, publishers, New York and London, for error in not crediting them with the volume *The Ethics of Paul,* by Dr. Morton S. Enslin. The firm to whom credit was given needs no apology for the error of credit.

THE article by Professor A. S. Woodburne in the July QUARTERLY, on the topic "The Critical Epistemology of Immanuel Kant," is the concluding chapter of Doctor Woodburne's book published by the Oxford University Press, which granted us the privilege of advanced printing.

The Virgin Birth of Christ. J. GRESHAM MACHEN, D. D., Litt. D., Professor of New Testament in Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1930. Pp. 415. Price, $5.00.

FEW readers will rise from reading this book with the criticism that it is sketchy or unduly compressed. It is amazing that a man can find so much to say about this subject. Perhaps some unsympathetic critic would add, "or want to." It would appear to be a safe observation that the work would not need to be repeated. However one may adjudge Doctor Machen's conclusions, he will probably agree that the evidence has been thoroughly—minutely is not too strong a word—examined and that every conceivable avenue or loophole has been guarded. Whether all the soldiers on guard are invulnerable is quite another matter. Regardless of his agreement or disagreement with Doctor Machen's contentions, the fair-minded reader will be obliged to admit that the book is a useful piece of work.

It is not impossible that it could not be improved. The most obvious defect is its repetitiousness. Repetition is often a very valuable ally in driving home truth, but it can become a tiresome one. Again, the desire to be orthodox and to retain every last detail in the narratives under discussion occasionally involves apologetics of a type almost laughable. One example may suffice. In speaking of the star it may be felt that a moral objection arises: The Magi were guided aright by astrological calculations. God's approval would thus be put upon a harmful pseudo-science.

In answer Doctor Machen writes: "This objection has had a great vogue all through the course of modern naturalistic criticism. But we are unable to regard it as very serious. Who can say how far God could or could not stoop to human weakness in his treatment of the Wise-men from the East? In countless cases, as we know, error has become the stepping-stone to truth; even astrology, as has often been observed, was the ancestor of true astronomical science. No, we are unable to regard it as unworthy of God when these strangers were led by their searching of the heavens to bring their gifts to the infant Saviour . . ." (p. 227). So each argument, however trivial, that has been or can be raised is examined and refuted. Without the slightest unkind intention it may be said that the volume is an amazingly fine example of thoroughgoing casuistry, buttressed by an ability to harmonize apparent contradictions of the most stubborn sort.

The volume falls into two parts: the tradition of the virgin birth, and attempts to account for it on the part of those who denied the historic fact.

In the opening chapters he treats the evidences of belief in the story in the second century, and maintains that this belief was as firmly entrenched at the beginning of the century as at the end. Then follow five chapters devoted to the story in Luke 1 and 2. This narrative is strongly Jewish, and does not bear the slightest sign of revamping or of having been interpolated. Similarly the narrative in Matthew resists all attempts to make of it a later production. Both are, and always have been, real parts of the Gospels in which we read them. Nor do they contradict one another; there is a complete independence, but no contradiction. Again, the stories are not only highly credible themselves, but are in the most complete harmony with all the rest of New Testament thought. In fact, "the absence of the virgin birth from the Epistles (*sc.* Pauline), though it might conceivably mean that Paul did not believe in the virgin birth, may also mean that the fact was so universally accepted as to require no defense" (p. 263).

Then in the last three chapters is presented a careful examination and critique of explanations of how the *idea* of the virgin birth arose, if the *fact* of the virgin birth is denied. And a searching examination and critique it is. Throughout the book the immense learning and industry of the author are patent. Although he does not boast of it, it is obvious that all which has been written on the subject has passed before his eye. It would be interesting to count up the number of mistaken views which are weighed in the balances and found wanting. This is not without its grotesque side. Very obviously the idea of the virgin birth is no matter of academic interest alone to Doctor Machen, but a life and death con-

cern. As he says in his conclusion, which by the way is a decided flaw to an otherwise scholarly book, "even if the belief in the virgin birth is not necessary to every Christian, it is certainly necessary to Christianity"; more than that, it acts as the most efficient test for orthodoxy. A man may talk glibly about the Deity of Christ or assert his belief in the Resurrection, and at the same time qualify these beliefs so completely as to reduce them to the vanishing point. Not so with the virgin birth. Let him assert belief in this, and he stands revealed a believer in the supernaturalistic view regarding Jesus Christ. All this then being true, it is hard to refrain from a sardonic smile as one reads the full presentation of the heretical views about to be attacked. It is a safe statement that many of the "simple Christians" for whom "we defenders of the Bible" are writing will have some new notions presented to them. And again, Doctor Machen, in line of succession with the heresiologists of all time, has here embalmed in his own orthodoxy the statements of views he is striving in dreadful earnest to reduce to oblivion. All this should give one pause.

Doctor Machen has produced a volume which will be of value to the historian rather more than to the layman, although undoubtedly many of the latter will eagerly purchase it to replenish their quivers with modern shafts; but the lasting value of the book does not consist in its casuistry and apologetics, but in the amassing of material which may well lead to conclusions precisely the opposite of those maintained by the author.

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

L'Apocalypse—traduction nouvelle du poème avec introduction et notes. PAUL-LOUIS COUCHOUD. Paris: Les Éditions Rieder. 1930. Pp. 223.

OPINIONS about the book of Revelation have been varied during its checkered career. There have always been Christians who considered it the most important of the inspired writings: a veritable time table of the future. But in these latter years the more self-possessed have been inclined to discount it. It is in the canon; hence its place is secure. But its imagery and blood and thunder have proved a bit trying to modern taste.

Now comes M. Couchoud with his challenge: "The Apocalypse contains the secret of Christianity. It is the oldest Christian book; the most precious document we possess for the origin of Christianity." And it must be confessed the author makes out a clever, if not convincing, case.

The ninety-page introduction to his new translation, of what he is convinced must be reckoned a poem, gives a survey of his views of the origin of Christianity. From the translation of his *Le Mystère de Jésus* English readers know him as the most prominent member of the non-

historical school in France. And while his views have never made many converts in America, they deserve more consideration than has been granted them. There is a poise and balance about his writings, strangely missing in the effulgences of W. B. Smith and Arthur Drews.

Briefly: Christianity is not, as has often been asserted, the propagation of moral doctrine; rather it is a religious creation. To be more exact, it is a religious mutation—the mutation of Judaism. It is the declaration of independence on the part of Jewish proselytes. The Tübingen school had viewed second century Christianity as the result of the conflict between two opposing camps: the one under Peter, the other under Paul. In M. Couchoud's view very little modification of this thesis seems necessary. Instead of Peter, stands the triumvirate, James-Peter-John; in place of Paul alone, the Nicolaitans (followers of Nicholas, the proselyte of Antioch), of whom Paul gained a fame disproportionate to his actual significance. The doctrine of the former group is given in concentrated form in the so-called Jerusalem decree of Acts 15; these prohibitions in their thinking replaced the Mosaic Law, for non-Jews. In this group were two classes, Hebrews who must keep the Law in its entirety, gentiles for whom the old legislation no longer applied, but who must observe these few prohibitions. Over against this group whose chief members, James, Peter, and John, had associated with themselves nine obscure figures to form the group we know as the twelve apostles or the Twelve, was a rival clique under the direction of the seven, of whom Stephen was chief. Mortal enmity existed between these groups, although the book of Acts sought to tone this down. But in spite of John's inveighing against the Nicolaitans and those who called themselves Jews, but were actually the synagogue of Satan—of course, Paul is indicated—the laxer wing triumphed. The Gospels mark the triumph of the seven. Hence it is fair to say that in these three successive literary productions —the Apocalypse (the manifesto of the early group under James-Peter-John), the (original) Pauline writings, and the Gospels—we see the three stages in Christianity.

And this new religion rests on three creations: (1) The son of man, the heavenly judge, came to be looked upon as identical with the servant of Jehovah; hence the daring combination: the heavenly man had a human heart! He was pierced for our sins. "This view was so novel and so acceptable that it founded a new religion" (p. 73). But of course there is no note in this early time of the crucifixion. Rather this heavenly visitor, this descended God, had perished in an effusion of blood. (2) The second splendid creation, the crucifixion of a god, comes from the other camp, as seen in the writings of Paul who publishes before the eyes of the

Galatians Jesus crucified. In this second daring synthesis—the power of God, the weakness of a slave—Christianity took its second step. (3) Then finally the most daring adventure of all. This divine being was actually endowed not alone with human qualities, but with a human existence. Against John, the author of this primitive poem, who had ventured into heaven and had seen God's revelation, the author of the Fourth Gospel utters his challenge: "And no one hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of man, who is in heaven." The supreme revealer himself has sojourned with man; has given his knowledge and his example. Accordingly, to speak of Christianity as a moral revolution—still more a social revolution—is folly. Rather it is a religious revolution, the institution of a new theology; its early history, the story of the birth of a god.

And the key to this enigma is the much neglected Apocalypse. Actually it is a poem, as Loisy and Lohmeyer have seen, and is so translated. It has suffered from minor interpolations; has actually appeared in two forms—in the first form 1:4—3:22 and 21:9-20 were absent —yet both from the same pen; nevertheless on the whole it has suffered far less than any of the other biblical writings from later touches. Its date is easily seen. It can hardly precede the Neronic persecution (64 A. D.) or be later than the destruction of the temple (70 A. D.) which is still standing (11:1-2).

The translation which follows the introduction is well done, and is supplied with numerous notes which are always interesting, often illuminating. An occasional suggestion is novel. For example, the enigma of the number of the beast (13:18) receives a new interpretation, which the author credits along with the interpretation of the Nicolaitans to his friend Robert Stahl. The reading 616 is (in my judgment rightly) accepted in place of 666, and is understood as Ἄττει, that is, "(consecrated) to Attis." Certainly this is by no means impossible. Again, the difficulties of 17:10, 11, 16 are neatly sidestepped. These verses are a later interpolation by an editor desirous of giving an explanation of the Beast in line with the Nero-Redivivus Saga.

The main hypotheses of the book will probably not be accepted by most American readers; they should not, however, be disregarded unread, for they express in not too fantastic form a position which sooner or later must be reckoned with. Few will rise from reading the book without subscribing to the judgment, "French is a beautiful language to write theology in." And in M. Couchoud's happy style it is most enjoyable.

Morton S. Enslin.

The Sayings of Jesus: Their Background and Interpretation. BENJAMIN WILLARD ROBINSON, Ph. D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the Chicago Theological Seminary. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1930. Pp. ix, 277. Price, $3.00.

A FRESH attempt to discover the religion of Jesus. The first part of the volume is a review of the history of Palestine from the time of Alexander to the destruction of the temple. The author has attempted to bring together the history of the Jews in the time of Jesus and the teachings of Jesus. To separate the two or unduly to abbreviate either is to throw the teachings out of focus. Quite true; yet one is a bit inclined to feel, in spite of this crystal-clear statement in the preface, that this is precisely what Doctor Robinson has failed to do. The first five chapters are an adequate review of what every one knows if he has read I Maccabees and Josephus; but then little or no use is made of the material in the following pages. Of course the author can retort, and rightly, that the intelligent reader will read the latter chapters in the light of the former. Certainly. But for the reader intelligent enough to do this the first chapters are unnecessary, for the story has so often been told. But this criticism is not meant to be harsh; it merely expresses the wistful disappointment of the present reviewer who in reading the opening words had hoped that it was he who should redeem scholarship.

As a whole the volume is decidedly worth while. The attempt is seriously made to see life through Jesus' eyes. The author is to be highly commended in his refusal to view Jesus as a social engineer. How refreshing to see a man convinced that Jesus actually was concerned with individuals! The last two chapters of the book are particularly good, "The Inner Dynamic of Jesus' Religion" and "The Forceful Quality of his Expressions." Personally I found the discussion of the Kingdom of God a bit disappointing, perhaps, however, merely because I did not agree with his conclusion. And yet I must confess I have not got over my shock at reading so much about the Republic of God, and the genial democracy of him who in the future will be "the representative of his people." Alas, alas. Another beautiful dream shattered. Is it not tragic enough to have to live in a republic now, and be obliged to hear the glories of democracy sung all the while we gaze at its absurdities! But we can at least rejoice that we do not have to look forward to an eternity of that sort, for the author tells us that by the phrase Kingdom of Heaven Jesus did not refer to what we are pleased to call Heaven.

The arrangement of the book is unique. The sayings and also parallel or illuminating passages from the Old Testament are printed in the author's own translation; then comments and discussions follow. Convenient indices add to the value of the book.

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

Every Man's Story of the New Testament. Alexander Nairne, D. D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xii, 294 and 3 maps. $1.80.

A surprisingly useful little book. As the title suggests, the volume, prepared by the distinguished Cambridge scholar, is intended primarily for thoughtful readers of the New Testament. It presupposes no especial training or historical knowledge. Nowhere does Doctor Nairne "talk down." In simple, non-technical, and straightforward manner he surveys the rise of Christianity and the appearance and nature of the New Testament writings. Recent literature is made use of, but not paraded. All through the book a conversational tone is deliberately adopted. At times it is compressed to a degree that Tacitus might well have envied. No formal—and accordingly useless—bibliography is given. Instead in his last chapter, almost in letter form, he discusses some of the books that he himself found valuable, and which he believes will be of service to Every Man. And, it may be fairly said, this last chapter is by no means the least valuable part. An excellent book.

Morton S. Enslin.

Early Traditions About Jesus. J. F. Bethune-Baker, D. D., F. B. A., Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. 205. Price, $1.50.

It is difficult to overpraise this admirable little volume. The query is raised on the jacket, "Where can I get a fresh and inviting account of Jesus which is straight in line with sound scholarship and at the same time intensely readable?" The answer to the query is justly, "This book." Sanity, poise, and scholarship; an attitude in the best sense of the word religious, yet without cant or the impression of "whooping it up"; these are conspicuous elements in a book worth many times its price.

Morton S. Enslin.

Roger Williams: Prophet and Pioneer. Emily Easton. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. Pp. 375. Price, $5.00.

Roger Williams is more and more being recognized as a preacher, administrator, seer, statesman who lived centuries before his time. As one of his biographers says: "He was herald of a time yet more modern than this laggard age of ours. . . His conclusions belong to ages yet to come."

The present biographer makes no such high claims for her hero, yet her work goes far to substantiate them. There is little originality in the book, no artist's portrayal of character and personality. The correspon-

dence and other writings of the Founder of "Soul Liberty" at Providence is made to tell his life-story, which, in fact, is very much the history of Rhode Island and even of New England during his lifetime.

The Introduction gives a picture of old London in the first quarter of the seventeenth century—the home and period of Roger's childhood and youth. Part One presents "Sir Edward Coke, Roger Williams' Patron," to whom the author makes Williams greatly indebted for his later views and conclusions upon the relation of Church and State. Though that indebtedness must be recognized, yet it would seem to have been overemphasized since the letters passing between Williams and Mrs. Sadlier, Sir Edward's daughter, indicate that the former was quite at variance with her father's position. Nevertheless, these two sections are, perhaps, the most valuable portions of the book giving, as they do, the physical, social and spiritual environment of the young man. The balance of the story, Parts Two to Six, tell of Williams as Minister in the Puritan Colonies, Missioner to the Indians, Ambassador to England, Peacemaker in New England, and honored Counsellor in old age.

Some minor errors may be charged against the author. Her failure for instance, to discriminate clearly between the Separatists and the Baptists; her recording of Anne Hutchinson's death at New York (1643) some twenty years before the capture of New Netherlands by the English and the change of name consequent upon it.

The collecting of so much source material and placing it in interesting, story form makes the book one of very real worth as a ready reference for early New England history.

R. E. E. Harkness.

Dwight L. Moody. William R. Moody. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. 531. Price, $3.50.

The Christian world, especially that of America and the British Isles, has long awaited this intimate and comprehensive biography; for it was generally understood that the great evangelist had bequeathed to his son the worthy task of telling his life-story. Now after more than thirty years the obligation has been duly and ably discharged.

With this long perspective, this period of research, the gathering of estimates and anecdotes from friends and life-long associates, the weighing and evaluating of the results of those many years of intense religious evangelism, the book is one to be placed in the library of every minister. The work is not that of a son writing of a beloved father whose message and methods may seem to many to have been outgrown; rather it is the

study by an impartial student of a great religious phenomenon of the past century.

We are made to see the young Moody in the poor, uncultured New England home, without any attempt to foreshadow, by the interpretation of mysterious experiences or visions, the world power and personality that was to be. Nor is there any effort to explain, by miraculous, supernatural intervention, the gradual development of the modest shoe-clerk of Chicago into the evangelist of flaming zeal and marvelous achievement. Otherwise, the author is careful to present his subject in the background of his day; it is a new America in which he enters upon his labors—an America with nationhood just won by the bloody battles of the Civil War; a new America now straining and testing her great powers—her natural resources faintly glimpsed, her gigantic industries being born, her mighty cities being founded. A new America that needed a new gospel presentation—a God who walked with men, who toiled and labored with them, a God who also dared the impossible, who bore tremendous burdens and helped men bear theirs. A God who loved!

It was a new age for the world, indeed an age that demanded new methods in religion as in all other affairs of earth, and Moody answered the demand. There was never anything pious, formal, traditional about him, and it was this evident sincerity, this constant freshness that won the hearts of the people to him and his message. Through that early Sunday school in Chicago, by innovations upon the platform, through new interpretations of the Scripture, by novel methods of education and instruction in his schools and assemblies he adjusted the religious institution and message to the particular needs of his own day.

That is one of the great facts the author frankly and fearlessly sets forth, and it is also one of the great lessons the religious worker of today may well learn from the life of this unparalleled preacher and teacher of the nineteenth century.

R. E. E. Harkness.

The Mystic Will. Howard H. Brinton, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xv and 269. Price, $2.50.

The Mystic Will is a study of Protestant mysticism in general, and of the mysticism of Jacob Boehme in particular. Doctor Brinton has placed us under a debt of gratitude for this study of the philosophy of Protestant mysticism, a field which has been unhappily neglected. It is remarkable how much there is in common among the mystics of all faiths, Catholic as well as Protestant, Islamic as well as Indian. In all cases, to use the author's words, "man seeks salvation from the pains and passions of

finitude by retreating into the inner depths of his being where he becomes wholly absorbed in the infinite God whom he finds there." The solution which Boehme found to the problem was voluntaristic. It was, as the title to the book before us indicates, through a harmonized activity of the will, a harmonizing of what he called the ingoing and outgoing wills, that he sought for peace.

The psychological study of religion gains much from the study of religious biography. It is much more valuable to be able to examine the experiences of individuals as they actually were lived through, than to attempt to reach conclusions from pious generalizations. Jacob Boehme was one of those humble-minded, God-fearing men whose intense experiences brought to the religious world a veritable revelation. A man of meager cultural advantages, he came to grips with the great problems of mind and life, and made a real contribution to the world's thinking. In Doctor Brinton he has found a sympathetic biographer and interpreter. On account of the unfamiliar language and literary figures which Boehme used, he has been for many, and will continue to be, a difficult man to understand. Though our author could not iron out all the difficulties in the way of understanding Boehme, he has himself worked his way into the intricacies of the man's thought and language, and given as clear an account as seems possible. Dr. Rufus Jones writes in an introduction with appreciation of the work of the author.

The mystic invariably works with symbols. He clothes his thoughts in the sensuous draperies of the imagination. The result for his contemporaries is usually happy. They appreciate the figures, and have no difficulty with the symbols. Sometimes the historian, who does his work long afterward, has trouble, because he finds it hard to discover the social patterns that determined the form of the symbols. The worst of all misfortunes is when later students mistake the symbol for the thing symbolized, and interpret literally what was intended to be figurative. Boehme's figures were unique. "Alchemy," " tincture," " signature," and such terms are not the current coin of religious intercourse. In Boehme they are very common. Boehme needs an interpreter, and in Brinton we have the man. He has not only made himself familiar with the historical background of the great mystic, but visiting Görlitz where Boehme lived and worked, he studied the social environment of his hero. For these reasons he has been able to give us an exceedingly illuminating study.

A. S. Woodburne.

The Reality of the Idea of God. W. Tudor Jones, M. A., Ph. D. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1929. Pp. 160. Price, $2.00.

The most fundamental of all theological problems is the problem of God. Are we to believe, as some would have us, that God is a "wish-thought," a product of the creative imagination, in answer to felt needs? Or can we hold to the validity of the concept? Is there a real, an objective God, corresponding in some measure to our ideas? This little monograph is in defense of the reality of the idea. Dr. Tudor Jones states his conviction that the time has come for a synthetic view of the problem, taking into account the contributions of the sciences, of history, and of philosophy, as well as theology. The volume before us represents the author's own attempt to make that synthesis.

The author holds to the idealistic thesis that ideas are themselves real. He takes us back to the Platonic position that the Idea (the capital "I" is his) has its roots in the supersensuous world. It is something, and not nothing, and possesses a reality of its own which ought to be differentiated from physical reality. He thus holds that the Idea exists, but that its existence is in a world of its own. This thesis is illustrated from the ideals and values in which man believes, such as moral and æsthetic values. Finally it is applied to God, the great Idea of religion. All human reflection, whether in the sciences, in history or in metaphysics assumes that the ideational world is real.

But what sort of reality does the ideational world possess? It belongs to itself. Above all it must not be confused with the reality of physical existence. The higher the stage of spiritual evolution which man attains, the more he frees himself from the bondage of the physical. To be sure at the lower stages, man is in contact with physical existence, a point to which the author devotes all too little attention. But as man grows he creates meanings, concepts, ideas about objects. He transmutes thinghood into mentality. This evolutionary process the author prefers to believe is the expression of the immanent Logos, and not simply the result of blind forces that are at work.

It is only here and there that man has reached the stage of realizing that there is a bifurcation between matter and spirit. It is the failure of this realization that constitutes the greatest drag on human progress, both individual and social. Religion is a call to man to realize this diremption, and to pass from the domain of the purely physical to the supremacy of the spirit. To accomplish such a stage of progress is in line with the fundamental character of man, the nature of human personality. The goal is in no sense an illusion, for it takes us into the realm of supreme

reality. This realm of spiritual reality is one in which the mystics of all times have believed and which they have tried to realize. It is that which Doctor Otto called the "Numinous," or "Non-rational," or "Quite Other." Doctor Jones sometimes uses the term "over-rational."

Dr. Tudor Jones is frankly dualistic. He tells us that the result of his studies force him "to the conclusion of the presence of two worlds —the world of Nature and the world of Spirit." Further he insists that such results are not speculative, but actual realities. He is thus led back to the everlasting problem of the relation between body and mind, or matter and spirit. We may respect him for his insistence on the reality of the world of spirit, but it must be acknowledged that he does not bring us much help with solving the problem of the relation between the two worlds. The higher religions agree in their faith in the supremacy of the spirit, and mystics will have no quarrel with his conclusions. But it is doubtful whether any non-theist will be converted by the arguments of the author.

A. S. Woodburne.

Prayer: Its Philosophy, Practice and Power. The Rev. W. E. Orchard, D. D. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1930. Pp. 135. Price, $1.25.

Doctor Orchard is unique as a preacher. Although a nonformist ecclesiastically, he is a great ritualist liturgically, and is something of a sacramentarian theologically. The present volume may be considered as a devotional manual, and, as such, will doubtless serve the needs of a great many devout Christian people. It deals with the subject of prayer as a practical exercise of the spiritual life, and discusses quite simply and straightforwardly the problems connected therewith. He shows that "At the very lowest prayer teaches the soul patience, provides the mind with a new re-creation, and sets the spirit on an inexhaustible venture." At the same time, Doctor Orchard considers the value of prayer to be far more than subjective. Not that God needs persuasion. But man needs prayer for the cultivation of an attitude that will make it possible for the will of God to become effective in his life.

As to the philosophy of prayer, the book contributes very little that is new or valuable. It is mere rhetoric to say that philosophy has to adjust itself to prayer, and not prayer to philosophy. In more than one passage one suspects that the author keeps God and man in two distinct worlds. The consciousness of the presence of God is for him supernatural, and cannot derive from natural causes. One wonders if he never felt the presence about which Wordsworth sang:

That disturbs all thinking things,
All objects of all thought.

It is doubtful whether a person with intellectual doubts about prayer would get much help from this book.

A. S. WOODBURNE.

The Present and Future of Religion. C. E. M. JOAD. New York: The Macmillan Company.

His book is earnest and witty, passionate and frivolous, lucid, expository, and fiercely denunciatory by turns. It will interest all men and women who, finding their spiritual needs no longer satisfied in Church or chapel, yet experience a want of something in their lives which previous generations have called religion.

So THIS volume is announced. It is impossible that religion should disappear from human life, but it is in a bad case just now. Never before but now is growing to maturity a generation which is to all intents and purposes without religion. Nevertheless we may look for something to take its place, something which will satisfy the aspirations of the modern educated man.

This is enough to challenge the attention and interest of every reader who has any concern with religion and the only question is whether he makes good, in fact and reason, the claims here presented. Whatever his decision the reader will certainly find engaging reading. To the sophisticated in this range of discussion the earlier part of the volume will present little that is new, some things that are superficial, and much that is exaggerated. It seems scarcely a true cross-section of the religion world.

In the second part, however, in which the author offers some constructive matter, the reader will find keen reasoning and criticism of many incomplete theories of religion that will do his heart good.

SPENSER B. MEESER.

An Emerging Christian Faith. JUSTIN WROE NIXON. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1930.

THE charm of fine literature, smooth, delightful reading, and sane, balanced consideration, if not the sanest yet published, of the problems of the adjustment of Christian faith to the later science and philosophy. It is unusual to find serious matters discussed in such clear, lucid English, without confusion of thought, or vague and unfinished conclusions. And the discussions *are* serious; but sober reasoning is here made a literary treat and a model for writers on similar topics.

No less engaging are the conclusions themselves, and some of the

apparently dogmatic statements must challenge attention from rather light-hearted critics of Jesus and the religion he has generated. The faults of the latter are frankly recognized but they are neither minimized nor are they exaggerated—just frankly faced and evaluated.

Asking the question "What intuitions of historic Christianity are likely to be embodied in the new religious mind?" he simply states that he writes from the religious background of evangelical Christianity, as he knows no other religion at first hand. He seeks those elements of the historic Christian outlook which seem to have abiding quality, and which may be equally true of religion at large.

The reviewer finds it difficult to refrain from copious quotation to present these elements and to illustrate the lucidity of the definition of the author's writing.

One of these elements is certainly the apprehension of having to do in religion with something or some one objective and existent in its own right; so Christianity can never divorce itself from history and become simply a philosophy. For Christianity "is an experience of human life as interpenetrated by a Higher Power accessible to every man in the concrete experiences of his career, a Power which cares whether man wins the struggle for values which lie within him, but which lead beyond him."

It must be sufficient for this review to note that in the chapters on "God the Supreme Issue" and "The Christ of Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" we have clear statements of religion value rarely surpassed. From the latter chapter these quotations press for expression:

"Jesus Christ has become a supreme quality of human nature. He has become a sacrament of God" and by sacrament he means to refer to "the variety and intensity of the experience of the divine which has come to men through contact with Jesus Christ." "In Christ I touch the hand of God" for He is more than a self-disclosure of God, a drawing aside of the veil.

We must be content with the following rather long quotation:

> We shall not bandy words about "the finality of Christ," nor attempt to prejudge the future. The field is open for any one at any time to mean more to men than Jesus has meant. If any one can give us a vision of God more satisfying than that of Jesus; if he can make God more real and accessible; man's life more rich and abundant, fellowship with God and man more intense and expansive than Jesus has made it: if he can meet these needs of the humblest and illumine the dark hours as Jesus could not, then he will inaugurate a revolution in religion comparable to that associated with the name of the Nazarene.

Chapter Eight, titled "I Believe," presents a creed to which any one, who still has a religion experience of vital and regulative reality, and a mind alert to the movements of recent thought, might well give his whole-hearted assent.

SPENSER B. MEESER.

"The Pentecostal Fire." JASPER CORTENUS MASSEE. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. Pp. viii, 150. Price, $1.50.

IS A collection of evangelistic sermons typical of that fervid school of prophets to which Doctor Massee belongs. To each chapter is added clinical incidents bearing out the practical applications of his discussions.

The volume will be helpful to evangelists and pastors as homiletical source material for pentecostal and evangelistic occasions.

GEORGE F. FINNIE.

Larger Parish Research. An Interdenominational Journal for the Study of Group Ministry for Group Churches. Vol. I, No. 1, June, 1930. PAUL F. HOLMES, Editor. Published monthly at El Dorado, Kansas. $1.00.

THE open-country and village church has shrunken notably in American Protestantism. Stereotype program, inferior leadership, depleting population in rural districts, and shifting community mores, have broken down the redeeming grip of Christianity. One can scarcely neglect the part of sectarian competition in this decline of religious influence. The old methods, and perchance some principles, of evangelicalism have ceased to serve adequately in a rapidly changing agrarian society.

For some years certain men have been experimenting in "larger parish" ideals with a view to recovering sound Christian guidance in community life. They have discovered that "group ministry for group churches," providing that the leaders are advisedly selected and the churches are socially akin, promises the most fruitful returns to religion's cause. The functional community area should become the parish unit, and such specialized types of ministry should serve this unit as the needs of the human factor call forth. Professor Paul F. Holmes has set up a journal to represent the ideals and values of the "larger parish" plan, and secured the editorial cooperation of such men as Frederick C. Eiselen, Malcolm Dana, Ralph A. Felton, A. E. Holt, Edwin H. Hughes, and Warren H. Wilson. The first two numbers of the magazine are modest, though suggestive, introductions to the research task that faces Protestantism in this particular sphere. It is the purpose of the journal to use the findings of the social sciences in conjunction with the ideals of theological education to indicate more fitting policy in rural churchmanship.

STEWART G. COLE.

Reasonable Faith. J. Vernon Bartlet, Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1929. Pp. 32.

Dr. Percy Dearmer, of King's College, London, is the editor of a series of "Affirmations," brochures to set forth in inductive manner and for purposes of group discussion the sufficiency of Christianity to meet the deep needs of rational men. Out of forty years of scholarly experience, Doctor Bartlet offers a cogent essay for belief in God. He is quite aware of the fact that it was never more difficult to make faith reasonable than it is today. He reminds the reader, however, of one unique trait of religion that saves the inquirer serious misleading in his approach: the higher the quality of value of an idea (in this instance, God), the less satisfactory necessarily is any linguistic concept to contain it, and the more symbolic the associated formula.

For this reason, the author reverts to poetry and to the greatest poet of the nineteenth century, Robert Browning, to substantiate his thesis. In *Rabbi ben Ezra* he discovers a valid world-view for living men. For this poem, rightly interpreted, harmonizes with the latest findings of the physicists and their implications for man's place and destiny in the universe. Doctor Bartlet holds to an absolute idealistic system of theology, and he supports it by the teachings of physical science. The essay makes most stimulating material for thought and discussion. One wonders, however, if the author has not given rather a closed apologetic for theistic faith than an openly inductive introduction to the grounds of faith, such as the series of handbooks were supposed to do.

Stewart G. Cole.

Report of the Committee on the Use of Motion Pictures for Religious Education. A Study of Protestant Churches. Boston, Mass. 1930. Pp. 59.

In September, 1929, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., called a public relations conference in Boston to inquire into the church's employment of picture films. At the meeting a committee was selected from church, mission, college, and Christian Association agencies to study the use of motion pictures in religious education, to make a new list of the most suitable films already in existence, and to crystallize opinion as to the kind of special pictures needed in this field. The published report contains considerable patent information on the first two stated intentions. Apparently, several hundred churches have found the projector an asset in Sunday-evening and midweek services. But there is a decided lack of evaluation of the pictures æsthetically and ethically; this is true even of the two hundred approved films that

are named in the body of the report. The reviewer is inclined to believe that the committee has given a business that has been victimized by the commercial motive, too comfortable a berth in this day when the character test is the universal touchstone of public approval. The reader may secure a free copy of the Report by addressing a letter to Professor Howard M. Le Sourd, Boston University School of Religious Education and Social Service.

STEWART G. COLE.

The Church and Adult Education. BENJAMIN S. WINCHESTER. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1930. Pp. 181. Price, $1.50.

PERHAPS it is not so much that we have just discovered that adults are capable of further learning, as it is the revelation that so many such *ought to learn* many things. For a time our burden was "the younger generation," but now it is the generation responsible for these youths. Well and good, neither will learn too much about living the life of the good citizen and the good neighbor in this changing world of ours.

The author is Secretary of Religious Education for the Federal Council, after a rich pastoral experience. He makes a most thoughtful contribution to the Cause of Adult Education in this volume, writing under three general heads, "Why Educate Adults?" "Areas of Adult Experience," and "Mobilizing the Church for Adult Education."

A very fine study for the minister who is really desirous of enlarging and vitalizing the educative work of his church.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

D. D.'S for Ministers. WILLIAM ANDERSON ELLIOTT. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1930. Pp. 147. Price, $1.50.

D. D.'s are Do's and Don'ts for the minister. There are fifty-four brief and pungent essays, common sense boiled down to an essence of rare tang; these are claimed almost equally by Do and Don't.

Doctor Elliott is an unusually successful minister, largely because he has been faithful to his own D. D.'s. All these are set down in a fascinating style which sparkles with wit and wisdom, making a volume which we wish every minister in America might possess.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

Educating for Peace. ELIZABETH MILLER LOBINGER, and JOHN LESLIE LOBINGER. The Pilgrim Press. 1930. Pp. 216. Price, $2.00.

WORLD peace "has long been a problem for the statesman, the politician, the business man, and the member of patriotic societies. Primarily, how-

ever, it is an educational question." With the above we shall all heartily agree; so stupendous a social readjustment as world peace requires, can never be made aside from an insistent, world-wide policy of education for peace.

As an offering toward such education this volume presents a large amount of data showing how the home, the church, the school, the drama, and the pageant may each and all make their own peculiar contributions. The work shows an industry, thought, and skill worthy of the very great cause of peace.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

Adventuring in Peace and Good-will. ANNIE SILLS BROOKS. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 1930. Pp. 92. Price, $1.00.

THE Church Vacation School like other ventures in religious education must keep constantly on the alert lest its program become stereotyped and stale. To meet this need for new life and variety the author offers ten well-wrought, daily programs for juniors. These will prove a fine help to superintendents of junior sections in the schools this summer.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

The Waiting Isles. CHARLES S. DETWEILER. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1930. Pp. viii, 167. Price: Cloth, $1.25; paper, 75 cents.

DOCTOR DETWEILER has wrought worthily first as a missionary to Latin America, and more recently as Secretary for Latin America under The American Baptist Home Mission Society. Hence this volume on the mission work in Porto Rico, Cuba, Haiti, and The English-speaking Islands, comes with a message of authority and hope at a time when there is an awakening interest in the countries "to the South."

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

Speaking in Public. ARTHUR STEVENS PHELPS. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1930. Price, $2.00.

DOCTOR PHELPS, a brother of William Lyons Phelps, has drawn from his wide experience to give in this book hundreds of attractive ideas and helpful hints. He has an unusual facility in diction that produces arresting phrases, themselves illustrative of the genus of successful public speaking. To be sure, this very characteristic is its own undoing, as, for example, when he tells us (p. 198),

In such an expression as "The bird flew away," before the words are spoken they are prepared for by the hand and arm first, unfolding them like a moving paint-brush.

But what book on public speaking does treat well the subject of gestures?

Even the author's quotations from Scripture frequently become jocular.

The book is adapted to the need of the average speaker rather than the classroom student, although it would be incorrect to assume, therefore, that there is nothing critical and fundamental about it. The author has cleverly concealed all that by the entertaining simplicity of his material.

For every reader there will be something familiar in this book; but for no reader will there be nothing new.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

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Reviewed in this number.

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